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# TWILIGHT OF NEWHAVEN: THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ANCIENT FISHING VILLAGE INTO A MODERN NEIGHBORHOOD

Asa James Swan
*University of Kentucky*, asajames@hotmail.com
Author ORCID Identifier:
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5641-0066
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Asa James Swan, Student

Dr. Karen Petrone, Major Professor

Dr. David Hamilton, Director of Graduate Studies

# TWILIGHT OF NEWHAVEN: THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ANCIENT FISHING VILLAGE INTO A MODERN NEIGHBORHOOD

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DISSERTATION

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By

Asa James Swan

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Karen Petrone, Professor of History

Lexington, Kentucky

2020


https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5641-0066

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

# TWILIGHT OF NEWHAVEN: THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ANCIENT FISHING VILLAGE INTO A MODERN NEIGHBORHOOD

In 1504, King James IV of Scotland founded the village of Newhaven, three miles north of Edinburgh on the shores of the Firth of Forth. Newhaven rose to prominence as the most well-known of Scotland's fishing villages and reached its zenith in 1928 with the launching of its last ship, the *Reliance*. It was the beginning of the end of the Newhavener way of life, their twilight. This is the story of decline and domicide as economic forces and the City of Edinburgh Council transformed the ancient village of Newhaven into a modern neighborhood. This small fishing community, with its own unique culture and traditions, such as its famous fishwives, became just another tourist attraction in the Scottish capital.

Newhaven began experiencing decline around 1928 due to four main factors: technological advances in fishing, overfishing, extreme pollution, and generational disinterest in perpetuating the Newhavener way-of-life. The City of Edinburgh Council's urban renewal program forced the modernization of Newhaven between 1958 and 1978. This urban renewal program, together with the Scottish Presbyterian Church's involuntary amalgamation of Newhaven's two churches in 1974, ensured Newhaven's destruction by joining with the decline of fishing to end the village's distinctive economic, social, and political patterns. My research concludes with the efforts of the inhabitants of Newhaven the neighborhood to forge a new community in the post-1978 years and preserve a legacy of their past for future generations to enjoy.

Newhaven joins the ranks of many other small places cleared away by those in power, proving that the Newhavens of the world are "especially vulnerable to extinction." Learning from Newhaven's pattern of destruction will help prevent future injustices against small communities. My research preserves Newhaven's memory and documents the nature of its struggles through the use of oral histories, primary and secondary sources, and preserved media.

KEYWORDS: Newhaven, Fishing, Village, Urban Renewal, Domicide, Fishwives

Asa James Swan

May 8, 2020

# TWILIGHT OF NEWHAVEN: THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ANCIENT FISHING VILLAGE INTO A MODERN NEIGHBORHOOD

By

Asa James Swan

Dr. Karen Petrone
Director of Dissertation

Dr. David Hamilton
Director of Graduate Studies

May 8, 2020
Date

DEDICATION

To my grandmother Christina Blair Ramsay Johnston, and all her fellow Newhaveners,
for their incredible strength, courage, love, and hard work on land and the high seas,
and for the fascinating village community they built over 500 years of living
on the shores of the Firth of Forth.

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# Introduction

## "A Gesture to the Past"[1]

On a chilly, overcast afternoon on May 24, 2014, hundreds of people gathered near the slip, the name the locals use to refer to the concrete ramp going down into the water of Newhaven Harbour. It was Gala Day, the annual community celebration of the neighborhood of Newhaven, Scotland. Located on the Firth of Forth[2] in the northernmost corner of Edinburgh, the nation's capital, Newhaven was founded in 1504 by King James IV as his royal dockyards, and over the course of the past 500 years, the village grew into a nationally-respected community of hard-working fisherfolk known for their unique fisher culture and identity. The Newhaveners began Gala Day in 1955 as a way to remember and honor their storied past, and even though the people of Newhaven have observed it intermittently since then, the spectators congregating around the harbor on this day in 2014 came to participate in yet another festival of remembrance.

As I walked through the crowd of about 300 or more, I could feel the anticipation. Every year, the Gala organizers choose a Sea Queen from among the girls at Victoria Primary School, which is Newhaven's local elementary school and Edinburgh's longest running primary school, to reign over the festivities, and the celebration begins when she arrives in a flotilla of small fishing ships accompanied by an entourage of other local school children serving as her court. This year, awaiting the royal court at the slip, the organizers had also invited the local Boys Brigade[3] regiment, a Samba band,[4] several

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[1] Meg Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, May 24, 2014.

[2] The bay of water north of Edinburgh that empties into the North Sea.

[3] The Boys Brigade, or "B.B.'s," is a Christian service organization that partners with local churches to encourage boys and young men to grow into servant leaders in their community.

[4] The Samba band was comprised of Scots from around Edinburgh who enjoy playing Brazilian music.

classes of school children and teachers dressed as traditional Newhaven fishermen and fishwives, and a man in full Scottish regalia, wearing a Prince Charlie jacket and kilt in his family's tartan plaid, playing the bagpipes. All of them were present to escort the Sea Queen to her coronation in the courtyard of Victoria Primary School. When the small ship arrived with the Sea Queen and she disembarked with her entourage, the crowd cheered in delight as the piper began to play. The processional started walking down the street towards the school's courtyard with the piper leading the royal court; a line of costumed children and adults followed along behind them, with the Boys Brigade marching along next in tandem, accompanied by the Samba band, which also began to play its hypnotic drum beats.[5] The multitude followed along in good spirits, laughing and taking pictures of the Gala's royal court.

After walking down to the eastern end of Newhaven Main Street, we entered Victoria Primary School's courtyard, where a dozen booths and a large stage were set up. The coronation ceremony took place immediately, with the Sea Queen receiving her crown from the Victoria Primary School principal to much acclaim from the crowd. Laura Thomson, the Head Teacher,[6] shared a short history of the Gala and its traditional Sea Queen, reminding the crowd of Newhaven's rich history that "must not be forgotten," one the Gala attempted to preserve. To celebrate the day, the Newhaven Community Choir followed the coronation ceremony by performing four songs, three of which were made famous by Newhaven fishermen as they worked out on the sea and by Newhaven fishwives as they walked the streets of Edinburgh selling their fresh fish.[7]

[5] Please refer to Appendix C, Picture 7.
[6] The Head Teacher is the Scottish equivalent of a principal.
[7] I sang all four songs with the choir on stage.

The people surrounding the stage even joined in during the last song, “Caller Herrin’,” which was the most well-known of all. Finally, Ms. Thomson thanked everyone for coming and invited them to visit all of the vendor booths and support the school by purchasing baked goods.

As the Samba band began playing its mesmerizing beats again, the hundreds of people attending the Gala spread out over the courtyard. Some took pictures with people in fisher costumes, and others sat and listened to the band. The majority of people, though, lined up at the vendor booths and purchased various snacks, crafts, or drinks. One booth, located right in the middle of the vendors, stood out among the rest: it was the Newhaven Heritage Association Booth, and easily the vendor who attracted the most attention. Manned by a gaggle of elderly Newhavener men and women attempting to answer any historical questions the crowd posed to them, the booth had two long tables with an abbreviated history of Newhaven on four placards laid out for all to see. The placards presented information regarding Newhaven’s past celebrations and Gala Days, including a 1953 event called the “Pageant of Five Queens,” which celebrated Queen Elizabeth II's coronation. A standing sign asked attendees to join the Newhaven Heritage Association and contribute towards building a permanent, locally-run Heritage Centre that would facilitate exhibits, events, and meeting spaces for local historians interested in studying Newhaven’s past, a past that Newhaveners fear is in danger of being lost.

A Newhavener named Fraser Miller saw me intently reading their materials, leaned over the table, and told me that old Newhaven was gone and its memory disappearing; Newhaven’s history had to be protected before people forgot it completely and the memories were lost. The Newhaven Heritage Association was trying to

accomplish this goal before it was too late. I asked him if Newhaven Heritage was trying to fill in the void left by the City of Edinburgh Council's closing of the Newhaven Heritage Museum in 2006, and he said they were, even though the odds were against them, just like "they always were" for Newhaveners.[8]

Mr. Miller was referring to the fact that Newhaven was a village that never had a say in its own political future, and like many other small communities around the world, outside forces beyond the villagers' control shaped significant parts of Newhaven's history, including the end of its fishing village culture and forced transition into a modern neighborhood between 1958 and 1978 by the City of Edinburgh Council.[9] In the first 400 years of Newhaven's existence, the village rose to prominence as the most well-known of Scotland's fishing villages, overcoming the twists and turns of fortune that fishing communities always face: the unpredictability of fishing, danger and death at sea, poverty, stereotyping, and marginalization of its people by "outsiders" looking in.[10]

Because of their perseverance through these struggles, by the twentieth century the people of Newhaven managed to achieve a measure of fame among the general populace of Great Britain. By "fame," I mean that many people across the country knew of Newhaven in some way, shape, or form. I first took notice of Newhaven's popularity when I visited the People's Story Museum on the Royal Mile in Edinburgh. It had an entire display about fishing in Scotland, and to my surprise, only one village served as the

[8] Fraser Miller, interview with author, Newhaven, May 24, 2014.

[9] Edinburgh's democratically-elected governing body, the Council changed its name three times during the last century, from the Edinburgh Corporation to the Edinburgh Town Council in 1975, and finally to the City of Edinburgh Council in 1996. The name changes depending on the year it is referenced in this dissertation, but the governing body I am referring to is the same.

[10] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 47.

Museum's chosen example of Scottish fishing to display to the world: Newhaven. There was even a full-sized mannequin of a Newhaven fishwife wearing her traditional work costume, distinctive to only Newhaven fisher women, and a long explanation of how integral women were to Newhaven's fishing success. When the curators were deciding on which fishing village to highlight, they picked the famous one (Newhaven) for two reasons that seem contrary but actually complement one another: first, Newhaven was similar enough to the dozens of Scotland's other fishing villages that it could serve as an archetype for study; and second, building on their shared fishing way-of-life fundamentals with other Scottish fishers, the people of Newhaven distinguished themselves enough to create their own brand of fisher culture that set them apart from their fellow Scottish fisherfolk and grew outsiders' awareness of their existence.[11]

How did the Newhaveners achieve this prominence? Newhaven's fame grew over time due to the combined influence of six aspects of Newhavener history and culture on the world outside the village: Newhaven's founding by King James IV to build his mighty warship, the *Great Michael*; fishing as a way-of-life; Newhaven's fish dinners; fresh "Newhaven oysters;" its fishwives and their work selling fresh fish on the streets of Edinburgh; and its fisherwomen's choirs performances around Europe. It is my contention that Newhaven reached its zenith, both economically and socially, in 1928, the year Newhavener James Ramsay launched his fishing vessel, the *Reliance*, the last ship ever launched in Newhaven.[12]

[11] Denise Brace, interview with author, Edinburgh, May 20, 2014.
[12] James Ramsay's daughter, Christine Ramsay Johnston, was my grandmother.

This dissertation concerns itself with the formerly ancient village, now neighborhood of Newhaven in Edinburgh, Scotland; and how the City of Edinburgh Council, in addition to four macro-level degenerative pressures operating from both inside and outside of the village, forced this small fishing community, with its own unique culture and traditions, to become just another neighborhood and tourist attraction in the Scottish capital. Over four centuries, Newhaveners had successfully navigated the conditions imposed upon them by changing economic and political fortunes throughout their history, so much so that writer W.M.P. wrote in 1936 that the "famous fishing village" witnessed major changes over the centuries, but none on a holistically transformative scale.[13] However, W.M.P. was wrong. Unbeknownst to him and the rest of the Newhaveners in the 1930s, Newhaven's permanent decline and fundamental transition from village to neighborhood had already begun. During the last 100 years of Newhaven's existence, the Newhaveners have not been as resilient, or perhaps even as "lucky," as they would say, in overcoming outside pressures as their ancestors were during previous centuries. When the City of Edinburgh incorporated Newhaven into itself in 1920, subjecting the village to Edinburgh's legal jurisdiction, Newhaven daily life and its routines had already begun to change. The 1928 census listed only 132 fishermen and 32 boats in Newhaven, a fleet 36% smaller since 1886.[14] It was the beginning of the end of their ancient way of life, their twilight.

This dissertation is about decline, domicide, and transformation: decline, because in 1928, Newhaven's time as a fishing village was already limited; domicide, because the

[13] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[14] F.H. Groom, ed., *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1882-1885.

City of Edinburgh Council destroyed the homes of the Newhaveners, as well as their ancient community, as a part of the capital city's urban renewal program; and transformation, because those few Newhaveners allowed back into Newhaven after the Redevelopment by the Council built a new community in the neighborhood that now sat on the site of their former village. My research explores the story of Newhaven's past, from its founding in 1504 to its redevelopment in 1958, the forced conversion of an ancient fishing village into a modern neighborhood by political, economic, social, and environmental pressures beyond its control; my research concludes with the efforts of the inhabitants of Newhaven the neighborhood to forge a new community in the post-1978 years and preserve a legacy of their past for future generations to enjoy. When I use the word "modern," I am summarizing the City of Edinburgh Council's goals for its city-wide redevelopment projects during the last century in its poorest areas; the Council added Newhaven to its list of "comprehensive development districts" in 1958.[15] Modern refers to the latest comforts, amenities, services, and buildings for habitation; the best of what mankind can offer, something "better" than what preceded it.[16]

The dissertation's first half creates a snapshot of the village in 1928 at the moment when the launching of the *Reliance* served as a turning point for Newhaven's decline. This launching marked a significant moment, even though the Newhaveners were not aware of it at the time. In 1928, Newhaven seemed to be doing well, and its fisher people continued working in their traditional patterns of daily life just like their ancestors had before them; but 50 years later, Newhaven the fishing village and almost

[15] *City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh Development Plan*, Edinburgh Town Council (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 28.

[16] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 45.

all of the many customs, traditions, events, and even the people that made it unique and distinct from other fisher communities along the Scottish coast, were gone. Now Newhaven existed primarily in the memories of those Newhaveners who survived the 1958 Redevelopment. This dissertation creates a composite portrait of the village of Newhaven and then tells the story of what happened to Newhaven over the years, how it changed from a village into a neighborhood, and why the village, now neighborhood's story matters so much to us today.

During four hundred years of struggle, success, failure, perseverance, adaptation, and simply "continuing on" with the fishing, Newhaven managed to survive as a fishing village. But at some point during the mid-twentieth century, Newhaven began experiencing decline due to four main factors, all operating and interacting with one another at different speeds over time: technological advances in fishing, overfishing, extreme pollution, and generational disinterest in perpetuating the Newhavener way-of-life. In other words, Newhaven in 1958 was already changing, and its time as a fishing village operating in its traditional form was nearing its end. However, the City of Edinburgh Council's forced modernization of Newhaven between 1958 and 1978 ensured Newhaven's destruction by joining with these other factors to end the village's distinctive economic, social, and political patterns. The Council's redevelopment of Newhaven's buildings and roads in an effort to rehabilitate what was left of Newhaven in the midst of its decline serves as the crucial moment when the end of Newhaven as a village became inevitable, and many Newhaveners either died or left for good, thus ending over 450 years of village life.

Newhaven's story is valuable to historians, geographers, anthropologists, and other researchers for two key reasons. First, everyone's story deserves to be heard, and Newhaven, even though it was a small, insular village with seemingly strange ways to those who were not from there, is deserving of our attention because the people who lived there, and how they were betrayed by their own elected leaders, mattered.[17] For whatever reason, the twilight period from prominent fishing village to picturesque tourist neighborhood has not received much attention from scholars. Tom McGowran, a local Edinburgh historian, has written the only substantial history of Newhaven. While McGowran's book *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* explored the history of Newhaven up until the late nineteenth century, he spent noticeably less time detailing the Newhaven of the twentieth century, and there is almost no discussion of the factors behind Newhaven's decline.[18] His work ends with a mere paragraph about the 1958 redevelopment and how it scattered what was left of the Newhaveners.

Like Fraser Miller said on Gala Day, the history, culture, and traditions of the Scottish Newhaveners during the last century are being forgotten, and the story of how their culture diminished over time as outside processes fundamentally transformed their community into just another Edinburgh neighborhood is important to understanding the formation of modern Edinburgh and the broader story of how small, marginalized communities respond to forces beyond their control. When E.F. Schumacher reminded us that "small is beautiful," he was writing with small places like Newhaven in mind. Newhaven, like so many other communities of marginalized people with little or no

[17] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 1.

[18] Tom McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985).

power and influence, experienced the all-too-familiar fate of the powerless: they were dispossessed of their homes and displaced from their village by the powerful; by leaders operating in the name of the "common good" that always seems to be bad for those directly affected by whatever urban renewal project is taking place.[19] Newhaven and its story provide us with another example of the abusive pattern those with power often use over those who have none, a pattern I have named the Newhaven Pattern; and we can learn from Newhaven in order to prepare for the next social justice battle over marginalized peoples.

For guidance and context in the area of urban renewal, I leaned on a variety of sources. The two most important were two of the most famous: Jane Jacob's *Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Robert Caro's *The Power Broker*. Jacobs and Caro spent a great deal of time describing the process governing authorities used to clear away areas of substandard housing, and their analysis directly corresponds with the Newhaveners' experience during the City of Edinburgh Council-controlled Redevelopment. Jacobs's work explaining the connection the poor often feel with their neighborhood, and how they respond when it is threatened, directly correlates with the Newhaveners' love of their old village.[20] Caro's description of the step-by-step process Robert Moses used repeatedly to evict the urban poor from an area he considered to be a "slum" sounded familiar to me because it was very similar to the series of steps the Council took to clear out Newhaven's villagers.[21] Together, these two works helped me

[19] E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (Point Roberts, WA: Hartley & Marks Publishers, 1999), 4.

[20] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 279.

[21] Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 11.

devise the Newhaven Pattern, a legal and ruthless four-step process urban planners in the mold of Robert Moses used to transform their slums into new neighborhoods. I will explain the Newhaven Pattern in more detail later in the Introduction and in Chapter 5.

I also used several British authors who focused on urban renewal in either London or Edinburgh. Michael Young and Peter Willmott provide insight into the core virtue of a village community like Newhaven's: its deep sense of belonging.[22] In a village like Newhaven, many homes had three generations residing inside of them. To experience domicide by one's own city government was incredibly traumatic and heart-breaking for all involved; many of the older Newhaveners displaced by the Redevelopment and not allowed back died within the first six months of being rehoused elsewhere in the city. Several architectural historians and urban planning experts from Edinburgh, including Miles Glendinning and Cliff Hague, provide important context on the history of the Scottish capital city's urban development over the centuries, as well as analysis of the Town Council's various machinations in the area of urban renewal and slum clearance of which Newhaven serves as a key example.[23]

Now that the Newhaven of old is gone, to also lose the story of the village's history would leave a glaring gap in the greater story of humanity in general. And to fully comprehend what was lost, it is imperative to understand what was there before. This is the main reason why the first three chapters of this dissertation take so much time to re-create the world of Newhaven, the ancient fishing village, for readers. An additional reason for the "thick description" provided of Newhaven is to give readers a

[22] Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (Berkley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 186-187.

[23] Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins, eds., *Edinburgh: Making of a Capital City* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).

greater appreciation for the world of Newhaven's fisher people and the complex community they built over time, a world so casually thrown away by their own elected leaders in the name of "redevelopment" and "progress."[24]

The second reason behind the importance of Newhaven's story is that like so many other real-world places with histories of their own, Newhaven's story touches on key aspects of history, geography, and anthropology, allowing us to explore a variety of important theoretical categories of analysis, like class, gender, space/place, and power, in a specific local context. This locality is crucial because it helps us avoid making sweeping generalizations that might not be correct for other places around the world, even in similar contexts. While I focus on class relations the least among these four main categories, I use the work of Paul Thompson and his colleagues on class relations within fishing villages across the world for guidance in exploring class dynamics and the effect of changing modes of production on Newhaven.[25] Jane Nadel Klein's work has also been instrumental in analyzing Newhaven's fisher class relations.[26]

One focus of Paul Thompson's work was on the so-called "share system" and its role in fishing villages. Before the arrival of the trawler, Newhaven fishermen used the share system on their boats. This system paid every member of the crew a percentage of the profits from trips out to sea, obscuring class divisions and promoting a greater sense of equality among the fishermen because every man on the ship had a vested interest in its success.[27] The appearance of the trawlers in the late nineteenth century changed the

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[24] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 4.

[25] Paul Thompson, Tony Walley, and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1983).

[26] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*.

[27] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 244.

fishing industry by introducing wage labor in place of the share system. While ship owners and captains always sat at the top of the fishing class hierarchy in Newhaven, the trawlers deepened the class divide between captain and crew.

Class division and the marginalization of Newhaven's fisher people by outsiders and the City of Edinburgh's leaders also contributed to the village's demise during the 1958-1978 Redevelopment. The Edinburgh Town Council used its power to clear away the Newhaveners, who as fisher people were seen as being lower class by many of the people who knew of the village. Fisherfolk experience marginalization by outsiders who see them as being "lesser" and "other" often,[28] and being displaced and dispossessed of their homes by those who claim to be acting in the name of the common good is another common trait of communities centered around the fishing profession.[29]

Because of the integral role Newhaven's women played in the fishing business, gender was not simply a "useful category of analysis" but a critical one to understanding the power relationships between the men and women of Newhaven and Newhaven fishwives' interactions with the people of Edinburgh as they sold their fresh fish.[30] Up until the twentieth century, Newhavener women operated in social spheres inaccessible to most of their female counterparts across Scotland, so using gender as a lens to study both the fishermen and fisher women of Newhaven helps us better capture the culture they built over the centuries. For gender, I lean upon Joan Scott's approach to study the power relationships between men and women by analyzing everything in its specific historical

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[28] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 43.

[29] J. Douglas Porteous and Sandra E. Smith, *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 149.

[30] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1054.

context.[31] I also agree with Jane Nadel Klein's assertion from her years of studying Scottish fishing villages that fisher women were both uncommonly empowered in their time and also served as symbols for what outsiders projected onto fisher culture, namely the false premise that Newhaven was matriarchal when actually there was a reasonably egalitarian balance of power between genders.[32] The mythmaking piece of this symbolism is important to keep in mind when listening to the Newhaveners, and those who lived outside of Newhaven, tell their stories about the fishwives.

The space/place lens of this dissertation is the most robust of all because my research is primarily about a place, the people who lived there, and the meaning they imbued into the spaces of Newhaven for over five centuries. First of all, "every social space has a history."[33] I believe that a space becomes a place when we infuse meaning into it, but as Doreen Massey showed us, places are not simply spaces with fixed physical boundaries; they also exist in our minds due to the connections we make with them. A place's identity is always "unfixed, contested, and multiple" due to the many people and events that affect that space over time.[34] Places are in a constant process of development because of the various shifting social relations that comprise them, hence my focus in the first three chapters is on how the Newhaven of 1928 came into being as a way to help ground this study in a generally-accepted version of Newhaven as remembered by its

[31] Ibid., 1056.
[32] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 61.
[33] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 1992), 110.
[34] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 1994), 5.

former inhabitants, and described by the local media and outsiders who visited Newhaven.[35]

A second point on space/place that needs to be made is about my use of the word "unique." Newhaven was a fishing village, so as such it shared many similarities with other Scottish fishing villages around the coast, such as the villagers' love of religion infused with superstition or struggles with alcoholism and poverty. However, the Newhaveners also created a local culture with distinct characteristics, customs, and roles; they invented tradition to create their own individual and collective identities and justify their way-of-life.[36] Returning to Doreen Massey, Newhaven's "local uniqueness" also flowed out of the global connections and pressures placed upon it by the outside world.[37] This unusual culture separated the Newhaveners from their fellow fisher people in other places and made them different, as exemplified by their fishwives' popularity and the villagers' uncanny ability to gain national prominence among the general populace over the centuries through media stories about their fish dinners, fisherwomen's choirs, and the *Great Michael*. In other words, Newhaven was special because it had things that other fishing villages did not, hence my use of the word "unique." Newhaven's distinctiveness among Scotland's many fishing villages explains the reason why the curators of the People's Story Museum used Newhaven as their chosen example of Scottish fishing and daily life in a Scottish fishing village.

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[35] Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," *Marxism Today* (June 1991): 29.

[36] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[37] Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Journal Workshop*, No. 39 (Spring, 1995): 183.

In light of the space/place analytical approach, it is necessary to define what I mean when I use the word "village" throughout this dissertation. The definition of a village and the meaning behind it vary depending upon the person using the term, and that has made it difficult for scholars to agree on its exact meaning for decades.[38] I know this to be true because it took me a while to articulate my own definition. The concept of a village seems simple enough, and the general populace knows what it is. But it is much harder to specifically define it, namely due to interpretations of its "size and character."[39] For Raymond Williams, "country life has many meanings," and this includes villages.[40] When most people hear about a village, an image comes to their mind that usually includes a combination of the following descriptors: small, isolated, having a set physical boundary, being outside of and separate from a large urban area, and containing a community of people intensely devoted to their way-of-life and one another.[41] Often, these villagers are seen as "other" or "strange" compared to those living outside of the village, and they experience some form of stereotyping and marginalization because of it.

After spending several months living in Newhaven over three separate visits and researching the various scholarly interpretations of a village's definition, I came to define the word by a core, fundamental trait: belonging. In a village, the people who live there feel a strong sense of belonging, and village life contains what I call "sites of belonging" where its inhabitants connect with one another for common purposes. Their work, often due to the village being a primarily single profession community, united them the way

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[38] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 13.

[39] Raymond Williams, *The Country & the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 1.

[40] Ibid., 3.

[41] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 13.

veterans fighting in a war together feel great comradery with their fellow service members, even years after the war ends. Fishing is so hard and dangerous that those who work in it feel strong bonds with one another. I witnessed this dynamic play out in front of me every Wednesday morning at 10:00 during my time in Newhaven when Willie Flucker and his three best friends, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, would meet in Willie's home on Newhaven Main Street for tea and conversation. All of them except Willie[42] spent their entire lives working on the sea, and even in their eighties, they still felt a strong connection with one another that flowed from their shared experiences of working in the fishing industry and growing up in Newhaven the village.

The villagers' work also gave them a deep sense of purpose and meaning, allowing them to define both their own individual and collective identities as villagers. The characteristic of belonging to a community and having a set place among family, neighbors, and coworkers is very grounding because it addresses many of life's big questions, and it creates understanding of the Newhaveners' worldviews and subsequent behaviors.[43] Again, the key to understanding place identity is to recognize that it is entirely "relational;" an identity forms in relation to those things and people that surround it.[44] There is a reason why the Newhaveners, most of them in their eighties now, still meet on a weekly basis and have a lot to talk about; in their minds, they still belong to Newhaven and one another. Newhaven is their home.

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[42] Willie had some professional fishing experience but transitioned to land-based work in beer-making after an accident permanently injured his leg.

[43] Young and Willmott, *Family and Kinship*, 104-105.

[44] Cliff Hague and Paul Jenkins, "The changing image and identity of the city in the 21st century: 'Athens of the North' or 'North of Athens'," in *Edinburgh: Making of a Capital City*, Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins, eds. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 217.

The last important category of analysis has to do with power. While my research does explore the power dynamics between the men and women of Newhaven, as well as some of Newhaven's institutions influence over the rest of the village, I am primarily referring to the relationship between the people of Newhaven with the leaders of Edinburgh over the centuries generally and during the 1958-1978 period specifically. In the process of redeveloping Newhaven, which on the surface sounds very positive and agreeable to the modern ear, the Council committed domicide in the lives of hundreds of Newhaveners by forcibly seizing the villagers' homes, destroying them, and then rebuilding them. Then the Council let only about a quarter of the Newhaveners back into the new, Council-owned homes.[45] Karen Till used the phrase "wounded cities" to describe "locales that have been harmed and structured by particular histories of physical destruction, displacement, and individual and social trauma resulting from state-perpetuated violence."[46] To borrow and adapt her term just slightly for our purposes, Newhaven was a "wounded village" that then became a "wounded neighborhood" due to the Council's forced redevelopment, and the Newhaveners who managed to get back in to Newhaven still carry the trauma of losing their village to this day.

Fortunately, most people have not had the jarring experience of losing their home, so in order to fully grasp the deep psychological impact of domicide, it is important to further explain its effect, beginning with the concept of home. Many scholars have written about the home's makeup and power over the years. As such, my definition uses a blend of several of their works. Beginning with Porteous and Smith, I believe home is

[45] Porteous and Smith, *Domicide*, ix.
[46] Karen Till, "Wounded Cities," *Political Geography* 31 (2012): 6.

the place, not a place, where we find refuge from the outside world. It allows us to let our guards down and simply be ourselves and define our own identities. Home is also the ultimate place of belonging due to shared interests and mutual connection through similar worldviews and life circumstances.[47] Because we begin and end our days at home, the home serves as the center of our world; this explains why losing one's home is to undo "the meaning of the world."[48]

Home is concurrently both a "physical place" and a "state of being" that coexist.[49] Yifu Tuan correctly pointed out that a person's home is more the "accumulation of past experiences" than the actual physical place a person currently resides in, but they are strongly connected in a person's mind.[50] This is essential to understanding the profoundly negative effect the Redevelopment had on Newhaven's villagers. As Porteous and Smith described in their discussion of the trauma induced by domicide, several, if not all, of the following are lost by the displaced: the "destruction of a place of attachment and refuge; loss of security and ownership; restrictions on freedom; partial loss of identity; and a radical de-centering from place, family, and community." Not only is home as a physical space lost, but the person also loses the home's "emotional essence," and therefore, a major piece of the person's own self-identity. The Newhaveners' experience was compounded by the fact that they not only lost their homes; they also lost their village community, which served as their place of belonging. Domicide can also kill any connection with the past and one's history, the end of the

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[47] Porteous and Smith, *Domicide*, 3.

[48] John Berger, *And Our Faces, My Heart, Brief as Photos* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 56-57.

[49] Witold Rybcaynski, *Home* (New York: Viking Press, 1986), 61.

[50] Yifu Tuan, "Geography, Phenomenology, and the Study of Human Nature," *Canadian Geographer* 15 (1971): 190.

"rootedness" a person feels in their home space.[51] This loss of connection explains the Newhaven Heritage Association's desire to open up a Newhaven Heritage Center and the reason why Fraser Miller told me he feared that the Newhaveners, and Newhaven the fishing village, would be forgotten.

Domicide-induced trauma affects the memory of those it victimizes, opening up their recollections to a much greater level of influence by nostalgia for good times and beloved places that seem lost.[52] This dissertation attempts to present the memories of the Newhaveners with this dynamic in mind. When Lisa Kirschenbaum was writing about the siege of Leningrad, her description of its traumatic effect on the Russians living there also perfectly encapsulated the Newhaveners when she wrote that "the trauma in question involved an attack on an entire community, and responses were necessarily both individual and social." As we shall see, for the most part, the Newhaveners saw damage "in the world" as a result of what happened, "not in themselves."[53] Most of them were either less aware or simply unaware of how it changed them internally and how that brokenness influenced their process of remembering even to present day. Interviews with the Newhaveners, which comprise a large portion of my research, often contained contradictions about the past that went unnoticed by the interviewees. This nostalgia, which lent itself at times to myth-making about the Newhaven of old, required a variety of other sources to help bring balance to the Newhaveners' stories.

In order to present a well-rounded picture of Newhaven's past, this dissertation uses a variety of historical sources. It captures over 80 oral and written histories from

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[51] Porteous and Smith, *Domicide*, 63.
[52] Ibid., 63-64.
[53] Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941-1945: Myth, Memories, and Monuments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10.

traditional Newhaveners, as well as another dozen interviews with "outsiders," or non-Newhaveners. In order to achieve the best results in an ethical, respectful way, I followed the Oral History Association's suggested best practices for interviewing people; my approach fell in line with the Michael Frisch/Jacqueline Hall school of thought. Quotes and pieces of information given by narrators were used as closely as possible to the context in which they were shared as a means of preserving the "integrity of the narrator's perspective."[54] All of my sources gave their consent for their names and stories to be made public either verbally to me or in a written form to the person interviewing them, and I have pictures of the consent forms. Following the advice of Dr. Kathryn Newfont, even though I already had secured permissions, I did my due diligence by doublechecking with a handful of my more candid sources to make sure I still had their consent. I took this second step out of concern for their own protection, although unfortunately, only a small number of my sources are still living.

The Newhavener interviews came from two groups: interview sessions led by Museum of Edinburgh curator Helen Clark's team in the 1990s as they prepared to open the Newhaven Heritage Museum, and my personal interviews with Newhaveners in 2014 and 2015. While there was some crossover, each group represented an entirely different generation of Newhaveners speaking. The former group was mostly made up of men and women who were alive and living in Newhaven in 1928. Based on the information available, at least 23 of them fell into this category, all but five older than the age of ten

[54] Oral History Association, "Best Practices," last accessed April 1, 2020, https://www.oralhistory.org/best-practices/.

in 1928. Newhaveners born in the decade after the launching of the *Reliance* comprised the latter group.

This dissertation also uses both primary and secondary sources relating to the history of Edinburgh and its surrounding villages, now neighborhoods, in the capital city in order to provide outsider perspectives that complement and contest the Newhaveners' stories; this includes 346 local media accounts, 64 monographs, 17 journal articles, and hundreds of documents from the Edinburgh City Archives. In addition, it draws upon over 320 photographs of Newhaven, its landmarks, and Newhaven-related historical artifacts as supplemental material, all in an effort to present an objective account of what happened during Newhaven's twilight and the years since.

While the second half of this dissertation follows a chronological format through Newhaven's twilight and transition years utilizing varying points of view, the first three chapters provide a snapshot of Newhaven in 1928 for readers unfamiliar with the village. Chapter 1 is also structured chronologically, while Chapters 2 and 3 are more thematical in their approach. One goal of the first half of this dissertation is to give readers a sense of what Newhaven was like at its height of existence. It accomplishes this by finding commonalities between the four main groups of sources comprising my research: interviews with Newhaveners who were alive in 1928, Newhavener testimonies from the following generation born between 1928 and 1939, local media stories, and accounts of outsiders who visited Newhaven at various times throughout its history. In other words, the Newhaven of 1928 presented here is a mix of history and collective memory.

While Chapter 1 uses primarily local media accounts to chronicle Newhaven's history, the following two chapters rely on both groups of Newhavener interviews for

much of their information. Because the Newhaveners were sharing memories from the past, almost exclusively in group settings, Chapters 2 and 3 frequently present Newhaven as Newhaveners remember it. Even though I used my secondary sources to corroborate as much of the Newhaveners' material as possible, nostalgia and myth are bound to have crept into their recollections. To the best of my ability, I have identified nostalgia and myth in the text when they appear and were the only pieces of evidence available for a particular circumstance or situation. Fortunately, the Edinburgh local media, which wrote about Newhaven frequently, and outsider accounts of visits to Newhaven over the centuries buttress many of the Newhavener stories, enabling me to create a composite narrative about Newhaven in 1928.

All this being said, I generally believed the Newhaveners when they described Newhaven in 1928 for two main reasons. First, even though my Newhavener sources' ages ranged from their seventies to their early nineties, I was continually impressed with their quick minds and sharp recollection, giving me a measure of confidence in their answers. An experienced interviewer can tell when an interviewee is either recalling lucidly or having difficulty remembering. While there were questions the villagers could not answer, it did not happen often. The second reason is more important. On numerous occasions, when one Newhavener shared a thought, observation, story, or general memory that the others did not agree with, a spirited debate immediately ensued. The Newhaveners have strong opinions, so they contested their own memories among each other and weeded out a lot of false information right in front of me. Their collective memories of Newhaven, its culture, and its daily life were shaped by debate that eventually produced consensus.

I am using the word "memory" to refer to "the ways in which people construct a sense of the past."[55] In this case, the dissertation engages with the autobiographical accounts of Newhaven's inhabitants about their past because the "past may be present in the unembodied memories of people."[56] Not surprisingly, due to the insularity of the village and the closeness the Newhaveners claimed to feel with one another, it is important to remember that their memories were composed of interconnected images and the relationships they had with the groups in which their memories were reconstructed.[57] Because the majority of the interviews I used were done in groups comprised of men and women who had known each other for a long time, some their entire lives, it is crucially important to heed Maurice Halbwachs's warning about context: researchers must make sure they know all of the social groups of which an interviewee is a member because each memory is connected "within the thought of the corresponding group."[58] The group format lent itself to a greater influence of nostalgia and myth-making, but I believe that "myths are important historical events in their own right."[59] The key is to ensure that we know, or at least are fairly sure of what is real and what is nostalgia, and that is the great value of the secondary literature this dissertation employs in part to create a composite picture of Newhaven from generally accepted information.

While a lot of the research in this dissertation was gathered collectively, the memories recorded also "constitute a vital constituent of individual identity,"[60] and as

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[55] Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1386.

[56] Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," 187.

[57] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis Coser ed. and trans. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1.

[58] Ibid., 53.

[59] Malcom Smith, *Britain and 1940: History, Myth, and Popular Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 6.

[60] Kirschenbaum, *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad*, 6.

Kirschenbaum pointed out, "individual memories often shape official narratives."[61] Her point is significant for the study of Newhaven because there were two narratives contesting over Newhaven's spaces: one from the Newhaveners themselves, and another from the City of Edinburgh Council. It was a battle of the village versus the city, the insiders against the outsiders. The former were those who lived in Newhaven and believed they were deserving of an existence separate from Edinburgh. They accused the City of Edinburgh Council and Edinburgh city government of destroying their homes, their village, and their way-of-life in order to make room for a gentrified neighborhood open for habitation to the capital city populace that also would serve in its new form as a tourist attraction for the city.

The latter narrative was the official one: Newhaven was full of dangerous, sub-standard housing, and it needed to be modernized. Because the people of Newhaven had not upgraded their housing already, and because many of them could not afford it, the City of Edinburgh Council made the decision to do the work for them. Then, once the Redevelopment finished in 1978, the Council moved in a blend of people from around the city, including some Newhaveners, to comprise the new neighborhood. In the years since, the Council has approved projects and spent millions of pounds renovating and remodeling Newhaven's spaces, and today it attracts visitors from around the world looking to connect with their Newhaven roots and learn about the famous fishing village. The 2010 *Frommer's Guide to Scotland* described Newhaven as being a popular tourist site, with its picturesque lighthouse, famous pub, and friendly people.[62] It also mentioned

[61] Ibid., 4.
[62] Danforth Prince, *Frommer's Scotland* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley Publishing Inc., 2010), 95.

that Newhaven was a place of memory, where visitors can learn about the hard-working fishermen, fishwives, and their families that used to stake out a living there but are now gone. In other words, the City of Edinburgh Council's narrative won.

This dissertation contains six chapters divided up into three parts, followed by a conclusion. In order to be able to explore Newhaven's transformation over the past century, it is crucial to define what Newhaven was before the twilight began and how the village came to be that way. Part 1: The Way It Was provides an overview of the formation of the Newhaveners' unique identity and culture, focusing specifically on key aspects and events that made Newhaven distinctive, and in some respects, nationally and internationally famous. Part 1 is comprised of three chapters, and together, they tell the story of Newhaven's history up until 1928.

Chapter 1: The Village begins with Newhaven's first ship, the *Great Michael*, in 1504, and ends with the launching of its last ship, the *Reliance*, in 1928. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the founding of Newhaven and turbulent history of the fishing village up until the early twentieth century. Shared struggle is a great unifier, so this chapter describes significant moments in Newhaven's history that shaped and defined the village's culture and daily life, strengthening the communal bonds of Newhaven's fisher people. Chapter 1 also focuses on four of the six aspects of Newhaven that contributed to the village's fame: the building of the *Great Michael*; the advent of fishing as Newhaven's primary profession; Newhaven's oyster trade; and its fish dinners.[63]

The second chapter is entitled "The People." It focuses on Newhaven's fisher family dynamics, describing the profession of fishing and the class, gender, and familial

[63] Chapters 2 and 3 will look at one each of the two remaining ones.

roles assigned to the fishermen, fishwives, and fisher children, and what was expected of them by 1928. Fishing has traditionally been and is still the most dangerous occupation in the world, and the hard-working conditions fishermen faced while out at sea made their ships one of Newhaven's primary sites of belonging.[64] Fishing is also one of the most unpredictable, and it put incredible physical demands on the men and women who worked in it. The men caught the fish; the women sold it. With the men gone for long periods of time, the women of Newhaven enjoyed a level of economic freedom and political authority generally unseen by their female counterparts around Scotland, a main factor in the villagers' marginalization by outsiders who did not understand or approve of this balance of power. Chapter 2 explores the elements of matriarchy in Newhaven and the plight of its fishwives, the fifth of the six aspects of Newhaven that contributed to its fame abroad.

In Chapter 3: The Community, we turn to a discussion of what daily life was like in the village, exploring the many "texts," as Clifford Geertz would say, of their culture.[65] This includes descriptions of Newhavener housing, religious practices, festivals, superstitions, and culinary tastes: those things that made Newhaven unique and distinctive from the many other fishing villages along the Scottish coast. Chapter 3 studies the sites of belonging within Newhaven's greater community that provided important spaces for the villagers to form their own individual and collective identities. One of these was spaces had to do with singing: the various fisherwomen's choirs toured around Europe singing and teaching about life in Newhaven, the sixth and last contributor

[64] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 136.

[65] Geertz, "Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought," in *Local Knowledge* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

to Newhaven's fame. Being familiar with these sites will enable us to satisfy Halbwachs's warning to know the corresponding groups our sources are both in and connected to. For the Newhaveners, examples of these groups or sites of belonging were St. Andrews Church, the Society of Free Fishermen, and the Fisherwomen's Choir, to name a few.

Having spent three chapters exploring Newhaven as seen, experienced, and imagined in 1928, the dissertation turns to two chapters within Part II: The Twilight to discuss the changes that fundamentally transformed Newhaven the village into a neighborhood. By the end of the 1960s, the Newhaven fishing industry failed to adequately support the families who lived there. Chapter 4 analyzes Newhaven's decline over a span of five decades, arguing that a combination of four macro-level factors, three external and one internal, worked in conjunction with each other at different speeds over time to permanently alter Newhaven's traditional way-of-life: technological advances in fishing, overfishing, pollution, and generational disinterest in continuing in the fishing profession by the Newhaveners themselves. These four forces ushered in Newhaven's twilight years.

The 1958 redevelopment of Newhaven serves as a crucial before- and after-moment of study for this dissertation. As such, Chapter 5 could have been called either "The Redevelopment" or "The Clearances" based on the two narratives competing for mastery over Newhaven's spaces. Harkening back to the infamous Scottish Highlands' Clearances, where English and Scottish lords forcibly removed the Highlanders from their traditional lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I chose "The Clearances" because it perfectly reflects the depth of betrayal and anger the Newhaveners

feel about the 1958-1978 period. Chapter 5: The Clearances focuses on the pivotal years of 1958-1978 when the Edinburgh Town Council used compulsory purchasing to buy all of Newhaven's homes, destroyed them, built new homes in their places, and then refused to allow most of the Newhaveners to return, thus bringing about the end of 450 years of village life. Not allowing the Newhaveners back into the reconstructed space of Newhaven is the crucial moment in the entire dissertation because it ensured the end of Newhaven the village's existence.

The Council followed a four-step process similar to other large cities around the world who undertook slum clearance, a pattern I have named the Newhaven Pattern. In this series, the governing authority raises housing standards beyond the level of the current housing the poor had access to in their homes; then at a later date it uses compulsory purchasing to buy up all of their homes, raze them to the ground, and then rebuild new ones in their place that are up to code. In the third step, the local government engages in a bureaucracy-wide pattern of poor communication, confusing those living in the clearance area about their rights in the process. Finally, the governing authority makes the conscious decision not to allow most of the former inhabitants back into the newly-redeveloped space, effectively destroying the greater community that had existed there. Every step of the Newhaven Pattern is legal, so learning from Newhaven's example can help the world's villages and small places prepare to resist any attempt by the powerful to commit the domicide of their homes, the most significant site of belonging. Because Newhaven's churches were key sites of belonging with the village community, Chapter 5 also discusses the forced amalgamation of Newhaven's two churches into one in 1974 and how it further eroded Newhaven's communal bonds.

Part III: The Way It is Today contains only one chapter, Chapter 6: The Neighborhood. Chapter 6 brings us into present day by detailing the post-twilight years of Newhaven from 1978 until today. It discusses the last fishing vessel to leave Newhaven; the Redevelopment's aftermath and how the people of Newhaven attempted to refashion a community for themselves; the opening and eventual closing of the Newhaven Heritage Museum; the 2006 Newhaven Harbor Revitalization Project; how the Newhaveners still living in Newhaven and the local media describe Newhaven the neighborhood; and Newhaven as it looks today. The last chapter contends that the Newhaveners had some success in pushing back against the City of Edinburgh Council's narrative over Newhaven's spaces through the resurrection of Gala Day and the activism of the Newhaven Heritage Association. Chapter 6 closes by providing a spatial analysis of the four blocks that remain and considers key sites of memory that include Newhaven's memorial benches, old buildings, and communal spaces where events like Gala Day occur.

In the Conclusion, I analyze the forces that affected the people of Newhaven and fundamentally altered their traditional way-of-life. I argue that Newhaven was already on the decline, and the end of its traditional way-of-life as a fishing village was already coming. However, the Redevelopment by the Edinburgh Town Council sped up and ensured Newhaven the village's destruction, and in the end, it was the Council's narrative about Newhaven that won control of the space. The Conclusion finishes the story of my experience at Gala Day 2014, and how this event proves that the ancient village of Newhaven, after 450 years of becoming its own unique community through staking out a

living on the sea, exists primarily in the memories of today's Newhaveners; and a modern neighborhood has taken its place, just as the City of Edinburgh Council intended.

# Chapter 1

## The Village

### Introduction

Newhaven is 516 years old. It has a long history, and during the first four of these five centuries, the people of Newhaven created and maintained a unique village community centered around the profession of fishing. In fact, in 1939 the *Edinburgh Evening News* described Newhaven, the "little fishing village," as being synonymous with fishing throughout Scottish history since "time immemorial.[1] Despite the trials they faced fighting the sea to make a living and battling the City of Edinburgh for control of their village, Newhaveners overcame numerous challenges and endured, all the while growing their reputation as poor, hard-working fisherfolk who represented some of the best virtues of the Scottish people.[2] Newhaveners also provided fresh fish for the dinner table, caught by Newhaven's fishermen and personally brought to Edinburgh's front doors by Newhaven fishwives in their eye-catching costumes.

With dozens of other fishing villages lining the Scottish coast, what was it about Newhaven that made it distinct from the rest? Why did Newhaven, its people, and their way-of-life eventually enter into the British people's national cultural ethos, even to the point of being famous? By 1928, because of the perseverance and shared struggle of generations of Newhaveners who staked out a living on the Firth of Forth, Newhaven was known throughout the British Isles for six main things: the launching of the *Great*

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[1] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-Time," *Edinburgh Evening News*, December 16, 1939, 1.

[2] Tom McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 99.

*Michael*, fishing as a way-of-life, delicious fish dinners, the delicacy of fresh "Newhaven oysters," the fishwives and their work, and the fisherwomen's choirs. The Newhavener narrative points to Newhaven's fame as one of its reasons for justifying Newhaven's existence as a separate entity from Edinburgh, as well as the long history of political struggles between the village and the city.

Newhaven was not just another small Scottish fishing village; it had a reputation of its own and was a special place to many people. Chapter 1 will explain why Newhaven became well-known for the first four of the six facets that grew its fame abroad.[3] In order to document Newhaven's long struggle to survive and better understand the strong pride and connection Newhaveners' feel with their former village, Chapter 1 will also review Newhaven's history between the launching of the first and last ships its people built, the *Great Michael* in 1504 to the *Reliance* in 1928, by exploring significant moments and events that contributed to the evolution of Newhaven and its insular culture as a fishing village, moments and events that set up the main aspects of Newhaven that will then begin to suffer during the village's decline.

Henri Lefebvre argued that society produces and defines its spaces, making them products of human interaction,[4] and Victor Burgin added to Lefebvre's thesis when he wrote that "space has a history."[5] Edward Soja told us that there are two kinds of space: space as it exists naturally, and socially-constructed space given an inherent meaning and purpose for a practical use; and that "social translation, transformation, and experience"

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[3] Chapter 2: The People contains a long discussion of the fishwives and their roles both within and outside of the village, and Chapter 3: The Community discusses the fisherwomen's choirs as it analyzes Newhaven's various sites of belonging.

[4] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

[5] Victor Burgin, *In/Different Spaces: Place and Memory in Visual Culture* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 40.

create this meaning.[6] With these concepts in mind, having already looked at the formative historical moments of Newhaven's spaces, Chapter 1 closes by describing the spatial layout of the village in 1928 and each area's purposes. This will allow us to study in Chapter 6 how Newhaven's spaces changed after the Redevelopment ended in 1978 and in the following years. It will also allow us to then introduce the fisher people who imbue meaning into those spaces in Chapter 2. This dissertation studies decline, domicide, and transformation, so before considering how Newhaven has changed since 1928, it is important to first define what it was like then, or at least establish a version of what it was like as told by the Newhaveners, the Edinburgh local media, and visiting outsiders; Newhaven's starting point began with a king.

The King

When James IV ascended the throne in 1488 A.D., he assumed the kingship of Scotland having grown up with a strong desire to build a powerful navy for the protection of his country.[7] James IV wanted to build a royal Scottish navy because his father never had one, forcing James III to depend on merchant ships to defend the country during times of war.[8] In James IV's first decade as king, he created a fleet that consisted of 16 larger and 10 smaller ships, but only three were warships with offensive and defensive capability.[9] Concerned about the possible threat posed by England's 24 top-of-the-line warships,[10] the new king set a lofty goal for himself: he decided to construct the largest

[6] Edward Soja, *Post-modern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 79.

[7] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 1.

[8] James Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, ed. Robin Black (Glasgow: M'Naughtan & Sinclair, L.T.D., 1951), 9.

[9] A.G.H., "A Scots Navy: Glimpse of Newhaven's Past," *Evening Dispatch*, December 27, 1943.

[10] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 11.

warship in the world at that time.[11] There was one problem, though. Because the harbor at the seaside trading town of Leith was too shallow for a vessel of this magnitude, James had no suitable place to build his flagship. Also, since the ship would require the very best materials and accoutrements, the king needed a location that would enable him to trade for ship components from all over Europe.[12] In 1504, James IV found the site he needed in a tiny hamlet in the ancient area of the Links of Old Leith, just a mile west from his dockyards in Leith.[13]

Approximately three miles north of the Scottish capital of Edinburgh, and less than a mile east of Wardie, James IV chose the best location for his new royal dockyards. A small fishing community of unknown size[14] already existed there around a deep harbor on the Firth of Forth, one capable of receiving heavy tonnage ships.[15] Why was the shore there so appealing? The Forth "shelve[d] more quickly" than at any other point along the Firth of Forth, leaving only a small distance between the shoreline and deep water. Chosen for its close proximity to Edinburgh, easily accessible bay, and waters deeper than those at the port of Leith,[16] the king purchased the hamlet from the Abbot of Holyrood, who owned the property, and gave the Abbot land surrounding James IV's home of Linlithgow Castle in exchange for the 143 acres around this deep harbor. The charter they signed referred to the new place as the *Novus Portus de Leith*, or

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[11] Ibid., 5.
[12] Ibid., 6.
[13] J.C.G., "Newhaven: James IV.'s Naval Dockyard," *Edinburgh Evening News*, September 30, 1933.
[14] John Kirk, "Where 'Michael' was Built," *Evening Dispatch*, November 21, 1958.
[15] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 4.
[16] Denise Brace, Helen Clark and Elaine Greg, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs* (Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council Department of Recreation, 1998), 8.

Newhaven,[17] "New" to distinguish it from the "Old" Haven at Blackness, the port nearest Linlithgow Castle.[18]

In April 1504, James IV began the process of building Newhaven,[19] even overseeing its construction himself.[20] The king sent 160 trees from his royal estate in Inverness to construct the village and dockyards,[21] and he used them to craft houses for his shipwrights and the other workers who supported life in the village.[22] Since the Scots were not as skilled in ship-building as their foreign competitors, James IV brought in craftsmen from all over Europe to live in Newhaven and work in his dockyards.[23] A large contingent of Flemish natives, along with a smaller number of Dutch, French, Spanish, and Portuguese immigrants, joined with the native Scottish at Newhaven to serve the king in the new village. The king's decision to invite so many non-Scottish people to live in Newhaven would eventually lead to its unusual architecture, distinctive dress, and unique culture.[24]

Being Catholic himself, James IV also ordered construction of a chapel at the center of the village for the purpose of Christian religious worship in Newhaven,[25] and in 1505, the king and the villagers dedicated the small chapel to the Virgin Mary and Saint James. The Chapel's presence at the heart of the village began Newhaven's long

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[17] "Haven" means "port" or "harbor."

[18] Roland Mann, "A Community That Won't Die," *Evening News*, March 29, 1985.

[19] Andrew M. Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," *Newhaven Conservation Plan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Town Council, 2000), 4.

[20] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 4.

[21] A.G.H., "A Scots Navy: Glimpse of Newhaven's Past."

[22] "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'," *Weekly Scotsman*, July 11, 1936.

[23] A.G.H., "A Scots Navy: Glimpse of Newhaven's Past."

[24] J.M. Russell, "How is Newhaven?," *The Scots Magazine* (March 1976), 627.

[25] Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1986), 172.

Christian tradition, and it led to Newhaven's nickname, "Our Lady's Port of Grace," which is still used today.[26] With the village ready and the dockyards constructed, James IV set about making his dream of a mighty warship come true, and the people of Newhaven began construction on it in 1507. Calling upon the protection of the Archangel Michael referred to in the Bible, the king named the ship the *Great Michael*.[27]

The Ship

James IV's *Great Michael* took four years[28] and 366 actual work days to build.[29] The "super-ship of her time," James IV spent over 30,000 pounds on his new warship.[30] At 240 feet long and 56 feet wide, with 10-foot thick sides,[31] the *Great Michael* carried a crew of 16 cannons,[32] 300 sailors, 120 gunners, and 1000 men-at-arms, plus an unknown complement of officers, priests, and musicians.[33] The *Great Michael* was so big its crew had trouble navigating her through the water, but the king loved his new flagship.[34]

The greatest warship of its day, the *Great Michael* saw no major victories or stories of conquest during her years at sea.[35] In fact, the *Great Michael*'s final whereabouts remain a mystery, albeit one with a few facts that provide historians with a decent guess as to what happened. King James IV's son, James V, sold his prize warship

[26] J.C.G., "James IV's Naval Dockyard."
[27] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 4.
[28] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 8.
[29] John Ross, "The White Elephant of the Sea," *Evening Dispatch*, November 15, 1958.
[30] Charlotte R. McNee, "A Great Ship Out of Scotland," *Weekly Scotland*, September 3, 1938.
[31] McNee, "A Great Ship Out of Scotland."
[32] "Newhaven's claim to be a world-beater," *Evening News*, May 22, 1998.
[33] Leslie Gardner, "Newhaven-Built Flagship of a Hapless Fleet," *Edinburgh Evening News*, July 27, 1963.
[34] "Newhaven Monster: The Biggest White Elephant in the Navy," *Evening Dispatch*, October 2, 1954.
[35] McNee, "A Great Ship Out of Scotland."

to the King Louis XII of France in 1514 for 40,000 livres;[36] this was about one-tenth of what his father paid for it.[37] If the accounts of local spectators are to be believed, this "once magnificent man o' war"[38] sat and rotted away in Brest Harbor,[39] having sailed away from Scotland "into the mists of obscurity."

The building of the *Great Michael* is one of the most often-told stories in Scottish history.[40] Over the past two centuries both Scottish and English authors consistently portrayed the launching of the *Great Michael*, the "eternal flagship,"[41] in superlative terms, such as describing it as Newhaven's "finest hour"[42] or listing the *Great Michael* in the top three "greatest ever" ships built in the United Kingdom, along with the *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*.[43] When William Smeaton, a visitor to Newhaven, walked through the village in 1905, he recalled the construction of the *Great Michael* and noticed how many of the houses and buildings at that time still had their creation inscription dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[44] In the past century, a major Scottish publication wrote a story sharing the history of James IV and the *Great Michael* about once every five years. When the Royal Yacht *Britannia* harbored permanently in

[36] John o'Leith, "Newhaven's Past Glories," *Evening Dispatch*, May 6, 1938.
[37] Gardner, "Newhaven-Built Flagship of a Hapless Fleet."
[38] "Newhaven's claim to be a world-beater."
[39] Joyce Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 137.
[40] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village," *Edinburgh Evening News*, January 18, 1936.
[41] Newhaven Action Group, *Newhaven: A Centre for Heritage* (Edinburgh: Newhaven Heritage, 2012), 2.
[42] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 153.
[43] McNee, "A Great Ship Out of Scotland."
[44] William Henry Oliphant Smeaton, *The Story of Edinburgh* (London: J.M. Dent & Company, 1905), 385.

the nearby port of Leith in 1998, several newspapers compared the excitement surrounding its arrival to the launching of the *Great Michael* 500 years earlier.[45]

Even today, the Scots, and especially Newhaveners, take great pride in the *Great Michael*'s story. The ship's storied reputation explains the popularity of the two exact replica models of the *Great Michael* Edinburgh local historian George Scammell built in 2000.[46] One is housed in the Ocean Terminal Commercial Complex just east of Newhaven, and the other one that used to be on display in the Newhaven Heritage Museum now sits in the Newhaven Victoria Primary School's Wee Museum.[47] Both of them enjoy some fame around Edinburgh today, serving as tourist attractions for people visiting the capital city. Ocean Terminal's tourist brochure lists the replica as one of its fun things to visit.

Finally, during the first part of Newhaven's redevelopment in 1958, the design company overseeing the project placed a life-sized replica of the *Great Michael*'s anchor on the street corner of Newhaven Main Street and Great Michael Rise, serving as a constant reminder for the people of Newhaven of the village's former glory as the "greatest shipbuilding town in the world."[48] This nostalgia is good for today's tourism business, but it is a stretch to claim this superlative for Newhaven considering it built one ship during a handful of years.

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[45] Iain Grimston, "Making waves with the Great Michael," *Evening News*, October 10, 1998.

[46] Mark Smith, "Pride of place for a 500-year-old flagship," *Evening News*, September 9, 2000.

[47] Cathy Lighterness and Debbie Dickson, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

[48] "Newhaven Monster: The Biggest White Elephant in the Navy."

The Burghers

After its rapid rise to prominence during the *Great Michael*'s construction, Newhaven fell into obscurity almost as quickly following the launch of the royal flagship in 1511.[49] That same year, the Burghers[50] of Edinburgh approached the king and inquired about the possibility of purchasing Newhaven. Most historical accounts attribute their "fatherly interest"[51] in Newhaven to the jealousy of an unwanted rival,[52] a fear that Newhaven's prestige would outpace the reputation of their own dockyards at the nearby town of Leith and bring about unwanted competition.[53] In 1961, D. James Wilson, a well-respected Newhaven leader, wrote that this was the beginning of a long and often-abusive relationship between the leaders of Edinburgh and the villagers of Newhaven, one where the "City Fathers of Edinburgh… constantly sought to sabotage the progress of Newhaven as a harbor and shipbuilding centre and favouring Leith as the Port of Edinburgh." They "spared no effort to gain their ends by hook or crook," engaging in repeated political battles with the village's fisher people for control over Newhaven's spaces and its fishing waters ever since.[54] The bad sentiment the Newhaveners felt towards Edinburgh and its leaders grew over the centuries and is still prevalent among the Newhaveners today.

After spending much of the royal treasury on constructing Newhaven, the harbor, and the *Great Michael*, James IV agreed to sell Newhaven in the Charter of 1511, signing

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[49] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 8.

[50] Burghers were merchants deemed qualified to trade in Edinburgh. In return, these men shared in the civic responsibility of the city, such as serving in the army, maintaining the public order and both paying and collecting royal taxes.

[51] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."

[52] "Newhaven's Glory Days," *Scotland's Story* 17 (2000).

[53] John Kirk, "Where 'Michael' was Built," *Evening Dispatch*, November 21, 1958.

[54] Our Special Correspondent, "Newhaven's Society of Free Fishermen," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 21, 1961.

away all parts of Newhaven over to the Burghers on March 9.[55] The Burghers were not good caretakers. When James IV died in battle at Flodden Field on September 9, 1513, Scotland never had a king who prioritized the importance of a strong navy as highly again.[56] All improvement work at the royal dockyards and upkeep for the village stopped,[57] and Newhaven's role as a major new shipbuilding center ended.[58] The Burghers failed in their duty of keeping Newhaven harbor and the supporting village in good shape, so much so that the docks used to build the *Great Michael* slowly rotted away over the next two decades. The Burghers even refused to defend the village in 1544 when King Henry VIII of England sent a fleet of ships to burn Edinburgh to the ground after Scottish nobles rejected the proposed marriage of his son, Edward, to Mary, Queen of Scots. Newhaven was the first to fall to the English invasion force, which destroyed the entire village. It took six years to rebuild Newhaven, all done by the villagers who survived the attack.[59] By 1550, Newhaven had diminished into a "mere fishing village."[60]

Newhaven experienced various direct overseers, all leaders of Edinburgh or Leith, during the next 400 years, including the Burghers; the church-related institutions St. Cuthberts and the Canongate; the port of Leith; the Edinburgh Corporation; the Edinburgh Town Council; and finally the City of Edinburgh Council.[61] Even though Newhaven's first years are often characterized in print media as its best years, such as the

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[55] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 8.
[56] A.G.H., "A Scots Navy: Glimpse of Newhaven's Past."
[57] J.C.G., "James IV's Naval Dockyard."
[58] Alex Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'," *Weekly Scotsman*, July 11, 1936.
[59] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 71.
[60] "Newhaven's Sixteenth Century Atmosphere," *Evening News*, November 20, 1975.
[61] Ibid.

*Edinburgh Dispatch*'s comment in 1938 that the building of the *Great Michael* gave Newhaven "renown unknown before or since," the people who came to Newhaven to help James IV build his mighty warship endured, and combining their various "modes of lived experience,"[62] formed a new community of their own.[63]

The Sea

As the shipyard declined, the many foreigners who worked there intermarried with the Scots living in Newhaven, turning to the sea to provide for their families and imparting a distinctive style unique to Newhaven, especially in its food, fashion, and architecture.[64] For the next 450 years, with the exception of one major period of freight and passenger shipping that aided the local fishing economy, Newhaveners lived in poverty and worked primarily on the Firth of Forth as professional fisher people, the second famous association people made with Newhaven.[65] Advances in transportation and trade joined two centuries of fishing as Newhaven's primary income drivers and began almost a century of increased prosperity around 1750.[66] Oyster harvesting also supplemented the incomes of Newhaven's fisher families during this time and continued on until the early twentieth century.[67]

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Newhaven grew into a village of between 500-600 people driven by a resurgence of economic growth unseen since the *Great Michael*.[68] The popular Forth Ferry and Sailing Packet Station, located at

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[62] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 4.
[63] O'Leith, "Newhaven's Past Glories."
[64] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 15.
[65] Holmes, "Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 4.
[66] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[67] Mann, "Community That Won't Die."
[68] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 70.

Newhaven on the Firth of Forth, connected Edinburgh with the northern half of Scotland, and stagecoaches frequently used the road from the capital to the village to transport people traveling through the country.[69] For almost a century, Newhaven enjoyed a reputation as "most important ferry and packet station" in all of Scotland, and it was this designation that brought travelers to Newhaven who tried its fish dinners, the third contributor to Newhaven's fame.

Ferries left from the harbor to go to Kinghorn, Burntisland, and Kirkcaldy, making Newhaven the main connector between the north and south coasts of the Firth of Forth.[70] The Edinburgh General Post Office even ran the mail from Aberdeen to the east coast of Scotland through the Newhaven ferry.[71] With so many people moving into Newhaven to work, the village expanded with the addition of new houses at Annfield, New Lane, and Anchorfield, which the locals jokingly called the "New Town."[72] The expansion connected with the rest of the village through a large green space and was seen as "more posh" than the older sections of Newhaven.[73]

The 1812 arrival of the first steamship in Newhaven, the *Charlotte Dundas*, ushered in a new era in transportation, one that grew Newhaven's importance to the British transportation network.[74] The London and Edinburgh Steam Packet Company and the United Kingdom Steamship Company turned Newhaven into a national port between 1812 and 1848. The London and Edinburgh Steam Packet Company offered trips to London Wednesdays and Saturdays, while the United Kingdom Steamship

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[69] J.C.G., "James IV's Naval Dockyard."
[70] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[71] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[72] This was a reference to Edinburgh's famous "New Town" neighborhood.
[73] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 77.
[74] Ibid., 116.

Company offered the same route once every ten days. Other regular routes included trips to Aberdeen, Inverness, and Orkney.[75] At least one famous person took the trip to London through Newhaven during this time. In 1832, Sir Walter Scott left Newhaven's harbor for Italy, where he hoped to regain his health but died only two months after his departure.[76] Scott would base several of the characters in his work *The Antiquary* on people he met in Newhaven during this visit.[77]

As a center of transportation and commerce, the increased number of people traveling through Newhaven grew the village's culinary reputation.[78] The village became known for having one of the most delicious fish dinners in all of Scotland, a meal that normally includes battered and fried fish (usually haddock), chips (French fries), and mushy peas.[79] The perfect fish dinner was the third trait that made Newhaven famous; its inns gained international acclaim for their fresh fish, which their own fishermen caught fresh off the Forth.[80] This fame was reflected in George Blake's 1936 article about Newhaven when he said, "They call it Newhaven; and we all fancy we know about Newhaven – the home of the fishwives and fish dinners at the Peacock."[81]

The premiere establishment that served fish dinners was the Peacock Inn, founded in 1767 by a local winemaker named Thomas Peacock.[82] Peacock successfully petitioned the Edinburgh Burghers for a feu[83] of several cottages so that he could open an inn and

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[75] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[76] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[77] Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1816).
[78] Ibid., 627.
[79] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 53. Mushy peas are mashed peas.
[80] This is the meal Americans refer to as "fish and chips."
[81] George Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know: Canny Men and Caller Herrin'," *Scottish Daily Express*, February 7, 1936.
[82] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 627.
[83] A "feu" is a parcel of land.

restaurant, which he did. The space around the Inn became known as Peacock's Court, and even though ownership of the Inn changed hands several times over the years, the Peacock remained a Newhaven favorite for two and a half centuries.[84] When William Smeaton visited Newhaven in 1905, he made a point to enjoy a fish dinner at the Peacock.[85] Four decades later, Stuart Swanson did the same thing when he traveled through Newhaven and enjoyed his first post-World War II fish dinner there, writing that he had "never tasted anything like it."[86] The Peacock's reputation for excellent fish dinners appeared in various media accounts throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, lasting until it closed in 2016.[87]

By 1820, Newhaven had grown to about 2000 people.[88] Spurred on by further expansion due to growth in the ferry, rail, and road systems around the Firth of Forth by Edinburgh and the national government,[89] the village entered its period of greatest wealth between 1800 and 1850 as a major transportation hub.[90] For the first time, Newhaven became a tourist attraction for those visiting Edinburgh who were drawn to the spectacle of watching fisher families engage in the profession of fishing.[91] The 1845 census listed Newhaven as having a total population of 2103, with 300 fishermen and pilots and an average of five children per family.[92] Newhaven's prosperity probably explains why when Leith received political emancipation from Edinburgh in 1833 under the Burgh

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[84] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 627.
[85] Smeaton, *The Story of Edinburgh*, 385.
[86] Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know."
[87] The author has eaten several of them himself, and they lived up to their reputation.
[88] Chris Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community" (unpublished manuscript, 2013), 34.
[89] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 9.
[90] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*, June 3, 1989.
[91] Sara Stevenson, *Hill and Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1991), 17.
[92] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 32.

Reform Act,[93] Parliament allowed Leith to immediately annex Newhaven and Trinity,[94] transferring political control from the Edinburgh Burghers to Leith's newly-formed town council.[95]

In 1838, several factors combined that would eventually end Newhaven's good economic times. That year, community leaders in the nearby village of Granton, about three miles west of Newhaven, opened up Granton Harbor with brand-new docks better suited to accommodate Forth traffic. Newhaven's older piers and quays[96] could not compete with Granton's facilities.[97] The town council of Leith also chose that year to deepen its harbor, taking away one of Newhaven's historic advantages. Finally, in 1848, the last blow to Newhaven's role as a preeminent transportation hub came when the Edinburgh and Trinity Railway extended their railroad line out to Granton instead of Newhaven, largely due in part to the brand-new harbor facilities at Granton.[98] That same year, all of the Newhaven ferries transferred their operations to Granton.[99] By 1850, all passenger travel through Newhaven ceased, and Leith and Granton surpassed the village in freight traffic through their own ports. The transportation boom had been a boon to Newhaven, but as usual, political and economic forces outside of the villagers' control dramatically altered Newhaven daily life and the work of its people, forcing the Newhaveners to return to their traditional fishing ways to make a living.[100]

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[93] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[94] Trinity was the small, neighboring village southwest of Newhaven.
[95] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 211.
[96] A quay is a platform, usually made of concrete, stone, or metal, used for the loading and unloading of ships that lies alongside a bed of water or projects out into it.
[97] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[98] "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[99] J.F. Birrell, *An Edinburgh Alphabet* (Edinburgh: James Thin/Mercat Press, 1980), 160.
[100] H.M., "Our Lady's Port of Grace," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 4, 1950.

The Oysters

A "fisherman is only as good as his last catch," and the unpredictability of fishing meant that Newhaven family incomes could fluctuate dramatically.[101] The Newhaveners believed they were fortunate to have another major source of revenue: the Forth's large oyster beds. For over four centuries, whether the Newhaveners had good or bad fishing harvests from the Forth, they also had oysters to depend on for income. By 1848, the Newhaven oyster beds were regarded as being among the best oysters in all of Britain, and seafood sellers around the country sold "Newhaven oysters" as a delicacy to the public.[102] Selling at six pennies per bowl that same year,[103] these delicacies served as a cash crop for Newhaven, one that helped Newhaven families make ends meet.[104] Since the season for scalping and selling oysters was September to April, or every month with the letter "R" in it, oyster sales provided bait for fishing lines,[105] as well as much-needed income during the coldest times of the year for fishermen, allowing them to spend less time out at sea.[106] The records show varying amounts of oysters scalped annually, but the general consensus is that during the 1750-1900 time period, Newhaven fishermen harvested between 20 and 30 million oysters every year, with over 30 million scalped in the peak season of 1867-68[107] by about 100 fishing vessels from Newhaven harbor dedicated primarily to oyster harvesting.[108]

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[101] Jock Robb, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.
[102] *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Scottish Fishery Board for Scotland: Being for the Year 1895* (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1896), 245.
[103] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[104] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 159.
[105] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[106] "Setting Sail in the Great Forth Oyster Rush," *Evening News*, April 12, 1980.
[107] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 31.
[108] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 159.

The first mention of oysters came from the village's early years: King James IV went oyster harvesting with the Newhaven fishermen working at his new dockyard, and he left charge of the oyster beds to the Newhaveners to protect and cultivate.[109] The Newhaveners saw themselves as good proprietors of this charge, being careful not to take more oysters than they needed.[110] Unfortunately for Newhaven, the King giving the oyster beds to his Newhaven subjects began a long struggle of "frequent battles" where Newhaven fishermen repeatedly had to fight outsiders for control of the beds, which required careful cultivation to prevent overharvesting and permanent damage. The fight over Newhaven's oysters serves as yet another example in the villagers' history of having to contest with forces from outside the village over their way-of-life, as well as a precursor to the over-fishing and environmental damage of the Forth that would significantly contribute to the end of Newhaven's fishing industry during the 1950s and 1960s.[111]

The worst offenders were usually the Burghers of Edinburgh, who seemed to remember their privileges to Newhaven right at the same time the Newhaven fishermen brought in the oysters for selling.[112] In 1791, the High Court of Admiralty heard a case regarding ownership of the beds that lasted for over two years, and it ruled that while the Edinburgh Corporation[113] owned the property the oyster beds grew on, their use historically belonged to Newhaven's Society of Free Fishermen[114] due to its many long

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[109] "Setting Sail in the Great Forth Oyster Rush," *Evening News*.
[110] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, May 30, 2014.
[111] "The Fishermen's Friend," *The Scotsman*, June 3, 1989.
[112] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 12.
[113] The city government of Edinburgh.
[114] The Society of Free Fishermen was Newhaven's exclusive fishermen's fraternity, dedicated to protecting the fisher families' interests. As a site of belonging, its history and influence will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

years of caring for and restocking the scalps.[115] This ruling affirmed the villagers' view that they alone held the monopoly to the beds as the oysters' sole proprietors.[116]

Concerned about diminishing oyster returns, the Edinburgh Corporation challenged the Society of Free Fishermen's rights to these so-called "City Scalps" in 1814 when the city government began regulating oyster harvesting in the Forth in the name of ensuring the oysters' sustainability.[117] A year later, in response to its annual "stately progress" inspection report,[118] the Corporation began demanding an annual rent from the Newhaveners for using its lands to harvest the scalps, angering the entire village, but the rent was begrudgingly paid by the Society.[119] The rents for this lease increased every year until 1839 when the Corporation shocked the Newhaveners by denying their lease and awarding it instead to George Clark, a British businessman. Clark dredged the oyster beds way beyond the point of healthy sustainability, causing such a huge outcry from the villagers that the Corporation revoked Clark's lease after one year. Even though oyster harvesting would continue in a diminished form for the next 80 years, the beds never fully recovered because the damage had been done.[120] The Edinburgh Corporation ignored the best interests of Newhaven's fisher families, other Firth of Forth fishermen who harvested oysters as a part of their livelihoods, and even those Scottish citizens who enjoyed eating oysters, all for short-term financial gain.

While there were still several good years here and there of oyster harvesting left (including the all-time peak harvest from the 1867-68 season), local historians view the

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[115] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 159.
[116] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 128.
[117] "Setting Sail in the Great Forth Oyster Rush," *Evening News*.
[118] Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith*, 137.
[119] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 128.
[120] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 31.

Clark episode as the beginning of the decline for the Firth of Forth oyster trade. In the remaining years of the nineteenth century, over-harvesting and the refusal by many fishermen from other Scottish fishing villages along the Forth to abide by the Society of Free Fishermen's quotas eventually doomed the oyster beds. Modern media accounts also blame the Edinburgh Corporation for failing to help the Newhaveners, writing that because of its own "arrogance of size," the Edinburgh Corporation essentially "permitted outsiders to dredge for oysters in the Newhaven scalps" by not enforcing any kind of quota system[121] or its own 1790 directive only permitting the sale of mature oysters. These were measured by the Corporation's Shore Dues Office.[122] In the Corporation's absence, the villagers did all they could to protect this important part of their livelihood.

If Newhaven fishermen spotted poachers dredging their precious scalps, the Newhaveners would sail out onto the Forth and chase the scofflaws off. This strong defense of the oyster beds led to great acrimony between various Forth fishing companies and the Newhaven fishermen. An example of this dynamic occurred in 1788 when the Newhaven fishermen fought the rival fishermen on a vessel from nearby Prestonpans who were trying to dredge the oyster beds at Leith Harbor under the cover of night. The Newhaveners won, and they commandeered the ship and brought it back to Newhaven harbor.[123] There are also accounts of Newhaven fishwives attacking detectives sent by the Edinburgh Corporation to spy on how many oysters their husbands were bringing to land.[124] The Newhaveners' resistance to the Forth's oyster poachers proves that when

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[121] Malcolm Archibald, "Salty Tales of a Life on the Ocean Wave," in "Villages of the Forth," *Evening News*, December 3, 1988.

[122] Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith*, 139.

[123] "Setting Sail in the Great Forth Oyster Rush," *Evening News*.

[124] Archibald, "Salty Tales."

they understood the problem confronting them and could unite as a community around a plan, then they would push back in order to defend their collective interests as a village. Even though these efforts by the villagers prolonged the life of the oyster beds and the selling of "Newhaven oysters" as seafood delicacies, they were not enough to prevent their ultimate destruction.

Tom McGowran and J.M. Russell cite the "ruthless dredging"[125] of the 1880s and 1890s as the main period when the oysters significantly declined.[126] The International Fisheries Exhibition Report of 1882 blamed the lack of any Newhaven oysters being showcased at the event on general overharvesting.[127] Just eight years later in 1890, after enduring years of abuse from poachers who overharvested and increasing amounts of pollution pouring into the Forth from Edinburgh's sewer system,[128] the dilapidated oyster beds produced the last significant oyster harvest for Newhaven fishermen. By 1920, the small amount of oyster fishing that had continued stopped,[129] and oyster fishing became a thing of the past, foretelling of the greater changes coming to Newhaven, once again changes that were beyond Newhaven's control.[130]

The Harbor

With the decline of passenger travel after 1848, Newhaven's fisher families once again struggled to make ends meet during the second half of the nineteenth century. To address the decreasing economic activity Newhaven faced due to increased competition

[125] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[126] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 135.
[127] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 31.
[128] Archibald, "Salty Tales."
[129] "Setting Sail in the Great Forth Oyster Rush," *Evening News*.
[130] Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith*, 140.

from Granton, the Society of Free Fishermen asked the Leith Dock Commission[131] in 1864 to renovate the village's ancient harbor,[132] the historical center of daily life in Newhaven, in order to strengthen Newhaven's fishing industry.[133] The Society's request was the first in a long line of renovations in and around Newhaven's harbor over the course of the next fifty years that were all intended to strengthen Newhaven's fishing industry, some successfully and others not as successfully.

A century earlier, Newhaven harbor consisted of undocked fishing yawls moored along the shoreline.[134] This changed in 1816 when the Commission built a short pier out into the Forth to make the harbor suitable for small ferry landings.[135] In 1837, the Commission paid the company Grainger & Miller[136] to redo the pier's base and lengthen it[137] in order to accommodate large steamboats coming into Newhaven from the Forth.[138] Between 1837 and 1864, the Commission performed no major substantial improvements to the port at Newhaven.

The Society's petition made a strong case for the need for renovations. First, Newhaven had about 100 ships docked at the harbor with over 300 families depending upon them for survival. Second, the entire county of Midlothian looked to Newhaven as its main source of seafood, so aiding the Newhaven fishing industry benefited all of the Scots living within the Midlothian local economy. Finally, the oyster beds would be destroyed by poachers if the Newhaveners lost their ships to the sea's storms and were

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[131] A governmental agency charged with running the harbors of Leith and Newhaven.
[132] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 44.
[133] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 111.
[134] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 24.
[135] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 42.
[136] John H. Hume, *Harbour Lights in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group, 1997), 28.
[137] Holmes, "Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 9.
[138] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 118.

unable to use them to protect the scalps. The Commission agreed to allow the Society to make any necessary improvements, but with no funds provided to help with the construction, the Society could not begin the project.[139]

In October 1872, the Society tried again by proposing a new plan for development, but this time it paid Thomas Melk, a certified engineer, to draw up the proposal.[140] When the Commission rejected the plan, the Society's members agreed that any renovations would require political help, so two years later, they approached their local Member of Parliament, the Honorable Donald MacGregor, for support. MacGregor promised to pressure the Commission to support the plan while also seeking a parliamentary grant of £10,000 at the same time to pay for construction. MacGregor was successful, and excavation planning began a month later.

To much fanfare and celebration throughout the village, construction commenced on February 1, 1876, and the Commission started a complete renovation in 1876.[141] This included construction of Newhaven's iconic lighthouse on the eastern wall and a new western breakwater wall built around the entire harbor that protected Newhaven fishing vessels from the turbulent sea.[142] Village leaders laid the foundation stone of the western breakwater on April 15, 1876.[143] When construction finished in 1881, Newhaven had become a brand-new port, with a fully-enclosed harbor 500 yards long and 300 yards wide able to accommodate three times the current number of boats. It also had a 20-foot tall lighthouse and a slip going down from the Main Street into the water.[144] The new

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[139] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 44.
[140] Ibid., 47.
[141] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 155.
[142] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[143] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 48.
[144] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 107.

facilities enabled larger ships capable of traveling out into deeper waters to dock there.[145] These advancements at the harbor contributed to a major milestone celebrated by the entire village in 1886: the Newhaven fleet landed over 10,000 cod in one day, their largest daily catch in history.[146]

Halfway through the harbor reconstruction project, the Leith Dock Commission sent out notices that it would begin charging a usage fee on August 1, 1879 for every ship entering and exiting the harbor, much to the dismay of the fishermen.[147] For the first two weeks of August that year, the fishermen refused to pay the dues. Then on August 14, the Superintendent of Leith Docks brought an army of policemen and dock workers to seize the Newhaveners' boats until the fishermen paid the usage fees. After some minor violence, the fishermen paid their fees, and the Superintendent relinquished control of their ships. Nine days later, more violence occurred on August 23 when the crew of a large ship refused to pay the fees and started fights with Commission workers. This led to another evening of turmoil throughout Newhaven, with several arrests being made before the police restored order and calmed the villagers.

The refusal to comply with the new fee structure ended after the Society held an emergency meeting and voted to mandate that all Newhaven fishermen must pay the Commission's fees.[148] Even though the Newhaveners lost the battle with the Commission over paying its fees, the villagers sent the Commission the message that they would fight to protect the interests of the village, even if it meant breaking the law.

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[145] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 24.
[146] J.S. Campbell, "Newhaven Memories: 10,000 Cod Landed in One Day," *Evening Dispatch*, October 22, 1937.
[147] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 50-51.
[148] Ibid., 51.

Today's Newhaveners refer to this entire episode as yet another example of how outside political forces abused their power and took advantage of the people of Newhaven.

Newhaven now had a renovated harbor that made the village more competitive with Leith and Granton, but it lacked one more crucial upgrade: a building specifically designated for housing the Newhaven fishmarket. In 1870, a villager named Henry Dempster authored a pamphlet entitled *How to prevent further decay and again resuscitate the ancient village of Newhaven*. Dempster argued that the introduction of new railways and steamboats in the past couple of decades encouraged neighboring fishing villages to send their daily catches elsewhere instead of selling them in Newhaven, and this harmed Newhaven's historical reputation as the best fishmarket on the Forth. Dempster's proposed a simple solution: build a wholesale fishmarket right next to the harbor.[149] The new building would replace the traditional system of sellers laying out the fish they brought to market along large, flat stones in an open area next to the pier for buyers to peruse.[150]

In 1893, the Leith Dock Commission decided to turn Dempster's recommendation into a reality, and it began design work on a new fishmarket building that would be fully integrated into Newhaven's transportation system both on land and sea.[151] At 8:00 a.m. on December 5, 1896, Mr. James Currie, a local ship owner, along with several members of the Leith Dock Commission, joined with other local officials and the villagers to celebrate the opening of the Fishmarket, an arcaded timber fish house with all the modern amenities that cost £20,000. Mr. Currie encouraged commissioners and the crowd to

[149] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 120.
[150] Campbell, "Newhaven Memories."
[151] Holmes, "Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 9.

continue to do everything in their power to support the fishing industry. Mr. Gillespie, chair of the Leith Dock Commission's Finance Committee, assured those present that this building showcased the Commission's firm resolve to supporting Newhaven's way-of-life, and the Commission would continue to look into other ways to encourage the fish trade at Newhaven.[152] Unbeknownst to those present at the Fishmarket's opening, the building itself would become a symbol associated with Newhaven, and after the fishing village transitioned into a neighborhood, a popular tourist attraction. Because the Fishmarket was large enough to accommodate all of the daily catches coming in from the fishing fleets in Granton, Leith, and Newhaven, by the turn of the century, Dempster's plan had worked: Newhaven again became the busiest center for selling fish anywhere on the Forth.[153]

The War

As the twentieth century began, Newhaven was doing well, and daily life in the village was bustling. The 1845 census had reported a population of 2103 people.[154] By 1900, the village had grown to just over 3000 people and the harbor was full of fishing vessels of various sizes. The renovated harbor and brand new Fishmarket ushered in a new period of prosperity for the fishing industry, and life continued on just as it always had... until 1914.[155]

Just like in other villages across Europe, the outbreak of the Great War disrupted the usual routine of daily life in Newhaven, but not by as much as might be expected. Over two hundred Newhaven men who were of age volunteered for service, and 184 of

[152] "Newhaven Fishmarket," *Leith Burghs Pilot*, December 5, 1896.
[153] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 629.
[154] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 32.
[155] Ibid., 122.

them were chosen to serve in the Navy, most as minesweepers due to their nautical skills.[156] Their families continued to fish the Forth and sell their catches at the Fishmarket and on the streets of Edinburgh. Considering the wartime conditions the Newhaveners lived under, they fared well as evidenced by the Fishmarket's attendance, which averaged over 600 visitors a day from 1914-1918.[157] By the time the war ended in 1918, 80 of the 184 men had died, devasting the town's morale and unleashing huge pain over the loss of so many Newhavener men. Led by their MP Ernest Brown, the village erected a war memorial on January 23, 1935 to remember their dead. They hold Remembrance Day services every November 11 there to this day.[158]

The 104 who survived returned and rejoined their former lives as fishermen. While it must have been very difficult for Newhaven's veterans to return to a life outside of war, a positive surprise awaited them back home.[159] For those Newhaveners who served on larger vessels capable of traveling out into the deep sea, years of scant fishing in the areas of the North Sea where the German U-boats used to patrol produced an ocean teeming with fish,[160] setting up a decade of great hauls for Newhaven's fisher families.[161]

The Incorporation

Much to the dismay of the entire village, Parliament passed the Extension Act of 1920 at the request of the Edinburgh Corporation. The legislation forcibly annexed Newhaven, Leith, and three other suburban parishes into the capital city.[162] Once again,

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[156] Ibid., 198.
[157] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 629.
[158] "War Memorial: Newhaven Tablet Unveiled," *The Scotsman*, January 24, 1935, 7.
[159] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 40.
[160] Ibid., 158.
[161] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 630.
[162] Birrell, *An Edinburgh Alphabet*, 159.

the Newhaveners had no say in their political future or local decisions, this time due to the decision of the Edinburgh Corporation to expand; and nearly one hundred years later, many of today's Newhaveners[163] still resent being "taken" by Edinburgh.[164] Edinburgh's Lord Provost John William Chessar oversaw its implementation.[165] What the Lord Provost and his team found, and what Edinburgh Corporation now controlled, was an ancient village with a rich community functioning at the pinnacle of its success in its little corner of Edinburgh.

After four hundred years of existence, Newhaven had become a place experienced by many people and known to many more across the British Isles. Newhaven's places did not just appear haphazardly or all-of-a-sudden; they developed over time through thousands of interactions with the hundreds of people who lived and worked in them.[166] The next section describes the spatial layout of Newhaven during its "glory days," the history of its social spaces before the twilight began in 1928, and the importance of these social spaces to Newhaven daily life.

The Borders

Today's Newhaveners talk about a popular saying from their youth that they used to describe the village's borders: "Newhaven is from bridge to bridge," meaning the four blocks along Newhaven Main Street between the George Street Bridge at Anchorfield in the east and the Trinity Road Bridge just past Starbank Park towards Granton in the west.[167] The Firth of Forth sat along the entire northern boundary, and the Edinburgh and

[163] Susan Edwards, Catherine Lighterness, Maureen MacGregor, Nessie Nisbet, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.
[164] Birrell, *An Edinburgh Alphabet*, 160.
[165] Ibid., 159.
[166] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.
[167] James and Christine Ramsay Johnston, interview with author, Boise, May 7, 2015.

Trinity Railway formed the southern one, making Newhaven only one or two blocks deep, depending on the street.[168] Topographically, the land descended down to the Forth from the railway lines, giving a sloping perspective of the village as sitting below the sea.[169] In essence, Newhaven had a human-made boundary from east-to-west, and a natural one from north-to-south. The borders were clearly demarcated in the villagers' minds. In 1928, a streetlight stood at the George Street Bridge, and once Newhaveners passed by it returning from Edinburgh or Leith, they knew that they were home again.[170]

Not surprisingly, Newhaven's physical appearance stemmed from the fishing industry's dominant influence over every aspect of their daily lives and the architecture of their Flemish and Dutch ancestors.[171] Robert Bevan writes that architecture conveys meaning about a people, and buildings hold distinct meaning and memory that carries on from one generation to the next.[172] Architectural styles have their own inherent meaning or message, and then the culture using those styles assign their own meanings to them based on the societal and historical contexts surrounding the structure.[173] Structures invoke memory within people, forming a collective memory as they call forth individual memories that coalesce into a new narrative that gives the structure a specific identity and place.[174] A society's architectural heritage serves as a multi-faceted reminder to its people, connecting them with their ancestors and constantly asking them to consider their past, their future, and their evolving identity.[175]

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[168] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 100.
[169] Holmes, "Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 8.
[170] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[171] Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 4.
[172] Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture of War* (London: Reaktion Books L.T.D., 2007).
[173] Ibid., 11.
[174] Ibid., 15.
[175] Ibid., 24.

This architectural heritage was perfectly on display in Newhaven, and these place dynamics supported the Newhavener narrative about deserving to be separate from Edinburgh. The village, as evidenced by its distinct architectural style, did not look like the city that claimed it. When F.H. Groome visited Newhaven in 1882, he wrote about the village's "old-fashioned air" with its Flemish-styled buildings and sea-worn fishing boats. By Flemish-style buildings, Groome was referring to the village's distinctive red-tiled houses with outside stairs.[176] William Smeaton would have agreed with F.H. Groome's description during his walking tour of Newhaven in 1905; Smeaton appreciated the architecture and hustle and bustle of the "picturesque fishing village."[177] Two decades later, not much had changed.

The Spaces

When pedestrians heading west crossed over the George Street Bridge into Newhaven from Leith (in the east), they walked along Newhaven Main Street, and the first area of the village they encountered was Annfield.[178] Originally built in three stages during the village's expansion between 1805 and 1850, Annfield was a long three-story building filled with dozens of homes on the upper two levels and several businesses on the lower one.[179] The view from Annfield was stunning because the Firth of Forth beach sat on the other side of the road, and Newhaveners used to walk along its promenade above the water, swim in the sea, sit in the sun, and relax on the beach's beautiful sand.[180] During bad storms, big waves would crash over the sea wall and drench any unfortunate

[176] F.H. Groome, "Newhaven," *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1882, 5.
[177] Smeaton, *The Story of Edinburgh*, 384.
[178] Please refer to Appendix A, Maps 1-3 during this section.
[179] Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 9.
[180] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 228.

person walking by along the promenade at that moment.[181] Locals referred to the space along the shoreline across from Annfield as "the Halley."[182]

In 1910, to much fanfare, a local businessman named Thomas Devlin donated a public drinking fountain for the new children's playground in Annfield and an ornamental fountain in Starbank Park.[183] Devlin originally wanted to put in two ornamental fountains, but the Edinburgh Town Council requested a drinking fountain for Annfield because it was more useful to the people who lived there. Edinburgh Lord Provost Malcolm Smith led the public dedication ceremony, and he promised Devlin and the crowd that the Corporation would protect and maintain the fountains for generations to come. Smith also said that the greenspaces, and the new fountains in them, provided a refreshing open space to relax in and get away from the busyness of the city. Devlin responded by saying that he hoped to preserve the memory of the fish trade there in the newly-dedicated greenspace, hence the nautical design of both fountains.[184]

New Lane intersected with Main Street at the end of Annfield. This short street had a row of houses on each side, all in the Flemish-style, with two flats underneath and two above in each building. The houses had contrasting colors with red roofs, white walls, and black gates.[185] Newhaveners prided themselves on keeping their windows and stairs "spotlessly clean," and passers-by walking down New Lane would have seen

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[181] Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.

[182] I will discuss the Halley more fully near the end of the chapter.

[183] "The Newhaven Presentation Fountain," *Leith Observer*, May 18, 1910.

[184] "The Beautification of Leith: New Fountains at Newhaven, Proposed King Edward Statue," *Leith Burgh Pilot*, May 25, 1910.

[185] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth: My Story of a Living Village* (Millom: Regentlane Publishing, 1998), 71.

shining black gates and polished brasses, along with beautiful collections of vases and other ornaments, on the mantelpieces.[186]

Fisherman's Park, the large communal greenspace for the entire village, sat on Main Street between New Lane and the "Whale Brae," the uphill section of Newhaven Road, which ran south out of the center of Newhaven towards Edinburgh. Fisherman's Park's importance as a place where the villagers gathered for all manner of activities cannot be overstated.[187] Marshall Berman lamented the lack of a welcoming public space in the modern age where people could interact and how this unnecessarily isolated moderns from one another.[188] Fishermen's Park provided that crucial public space for the villagers' shared interaction within Newhaven, an area that resulted in community-building, and that is why its loss during Edinburgh's redevelopment of Newhaven between 1958 and 1978 rid the village of an important spatial driver of shared experience.

A lack of "clean shingle beaches" for the fishermen to clean and repair their nets led the Society of Free Fishermen in 1848 to ask the Board of Admiralty, which maintained its offices in a house at the top of the Whale Brae,[189] for permission to use a clear space in the village for general fishing purposes. The Admiralty approved their petition, so the villagers started referring to the new common space as "Fishermen's Park."[190] Twenty-two years later, the Admiralty began selling local properties it owned

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[186] Ibid., 69.

[187] Margaret Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.

[188] Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988).

[189] Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith*, 140.

[190] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 161.

around Scotland, and the Society bought the land in a 999-year lease.[191] The Society would pay the Admiralty ten shillings a year for their lease until purchasing the land outright in 1930.[192]

At Fisherman's Park, the people of Newhaven gathered for a variety of reasons, many of them essential to their profession. The park contained a boat construction area that took up about half of the entire space,[193] as well as a kippering house (which smoked and salted the fish), a blacksmith's forge, a loft for sail-making, and caldrons for boiling nets.[194] The men repaired and tanned fishing nets; the women washed, bleached, and dried their laundry;[195] and families would spend hours baiting their fishing lines with mussels for the next day's catch. Cod lines had 900 hooks and haddock up to 1500, so it was much more enjoyable to sit and chat with the neighbors while baiting the lines.[196] The park was also a safe place where the children could play, usually under the watchful eye of their mother or some other close relative. Newhaven children referred to this space as "Fishy Park." Here they spent much of their free time, playing games like soccer, Rounders, and hide and seek during the warmer months and sledding in the cold ones.[197]

Across from Fishermen's Park, on the northern side of Main Street with its back against the Forth shoreline, sat Victoria School, one of the most influential institutions and sites of belonging in the village. Five schools existed in Newhaven throughout the

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[191] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 215.
[192] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[193] Ibid.
[194] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 215.
[195] Ibid., 83.
[196] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.
[197] Lighterness, interview with author, May 29, 2014.

nineteenth century, but after being founded in 1844 by the Society of Free Fishermen, Victoria School outlasted them all.[198] By 1928, Victoria School had developed a reputation throughout Edinburgh for excellence,[199] and generations of Newhaveners received their education there.[200] The Society remodeled the original building in 1861 in a "classical style" to make room for more students, expanding it three more times by 1930 for the same reason.[201]

As pedestrians continued to head west down Main Street past Victoria School and Fishermen's Park, the next landmark they encountered was Newhaven Road, locally referred to as the "Whale Brae."[202] Sitting between Fishermen's Park to the east and a long row of generally dilapidated Flemish-style houses to the west, the "Whale Brae" began at Main Street and immediately headed steeply uphill going south towards Edinburgh. Newhaveners referred to this part of Newhaven Road as the "Whale Brae" because a whale beached itself along the shoreline across from the road at some point in the eighteenth century, and the villagers supposedly dragged the dead animal up onto the hill.[203] Lifelong Newhavener Jim Park, and Esther Liston, the last Newhaven fishwife, said their parents told them this story about how the "Whale Brae" got its name.[204] Sandy Noble, a Newhavener who lived his entire life in the village, shared that as a child he witnessed fishermen landing three types of whale there by the Peacock Inn on the

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[198] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 213.
[199] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.
[200] More will be discussed about Victoria School, and Newhaven education in general, in Chapter 3.
[201] Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 9.
[202] "Brae" is Scottish for a steep slope or hill.
[203] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 73.
[204] Kitty Banyard and Esther Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, Newhaven, 1993.

harbor slip, but before the slip existed, whales would occasionally beach themselves there at the foot of the hill; and that is how that area became known as the "Whale Brae."[205]

As the "Whale Brae" ended (due to Newhaven Road reaching the top of the hill and the topography flattening out), Jessefield Terrace and Hawthornvale began at Newhaven Road and headed east, with Hawthornvale following the railway line until it wrapped around and intersected with Main Street at the beginning of Annfield by the George Street Bridge. The villagers believed that if a family lived on either of these two streets, they were richer and more affluent than the rest of the Newhaveners. This was due to the "quality houses with gardens in front" and rows of newer apartment buildings that lined both streets, as well as the merchant ship officers or fishing captains and their families who tended to live in them.[206] Topography also influenced class and social status within the village. The fact that both streets sat on land about 30 feet above the rest of Newhaven contributed to the view held by the villagers that families residing on Jessefield Terrace and Hawthornvale thought of themselves as being socially better, or "above," the rest of the village.[207]

Crossing over the "Whale Brae," visitors entered into the heart of the village. The western side of Newhaven Main Street served as the village's main thoroughfare,[208] and several hundred people lived along the street in its dozens of houses and worked in either its 30+ shops or the fishing industry.[209] By 1928, most of these houses were in poor condition, even to the point of being referred to as "slums" because they shared outdoor

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[205] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, February 18, 1994.
[206] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 65-66.
[207] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 102.
[208] Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," 8.
[209] Catherine Lighterness, Debbie Dickson, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

bathrooms and had no electricity. Two or more families of the same last name often lived "in the same stair," meaning living in the same building with one shared stairwell that sat between their two homes. This stairwell contained an enclosed toilet.[210] While they were dilapidated, the Newhaveners took great pride in caring for their property,[211] a value common to Scotland's fishing villages.[212] As a lifelong Newhavener, Gavin Lighterness was fond of saying, "They were slums, but we weren't slummy."[213] The Edinburgh Corporation had already taken notice of the condition of the housing by that time, but it would be three decades before it forced an urban renewal scheme on Newhaven.[214]

Unfinished boats, nets, and laundry hanging out to dry; trolleys and trams to Edinburgh; and lorries carrying various wares up and down the street as Newhaveners went about their business were common sights.[215] The trams came west onto Main Street from the George Street Bridge, then made a right at St. Andrew's Square and drove around Newhaven up Pier Place on the land between the northern-most block of the village (where the Peacock Inn and St. Andrew's Church sat) and the harbor. From there, the three tram lines went to either Granton, Newington, or Fairmilehead. By 1922, electricity powered all of the trams.[216] With the exception of the trams going to other places like Edinburgh or Granton, Main Street carried mostly pedestrian traffic.[217]

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[210] Lighterness, interview with author, May 29, 2014.
[211] This custom will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3.
[212] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 119.
[213] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, June 11, 2014.
[214] Wilson McLaren, "Newhaven Memories," *Evening Dispatch*, October 20, 1937.
[215] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 168.
[216] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 96-97.
[217] Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.

Newhaveners had little use for the trams, though, because almost everything they needed could be found in Newhaven. Cathy Lighterness and her Newhavener friends said that "it was a proper village because you didn't have to go anywhere."[218] They were referring to the diversity of businesses located within Newhaven, and the way Newhaveners purchased small amounts of goods on a daily basis as needed. In 1928, anyone who "had a window on Main Street would have a wee shop."[219] So what were these shops to be found along Main Street? They can be divided into two main categories: professional shops providing services and culinary shops providing food and household items.

The fishing industry required all major service professions to function, and in 1928, Newhaven had them all. Johnny Colven and his family worked as Newhaven's blacksmiths in their workshop on Main Street and Smiddy Close;[220] they handled all of the iron work for the boats in Newhaven Harbor.[221] Asa Wass ran the scrapyard, while Watty Liston cut hair in his barber shop next door to the cobbler's.[222] Main Street was also home to a chemist, a drysalter's shop,[223] a post office, a bank, a newspaper stand, and three inns that provided room and board for travelers, including the famous Peacock Inn.[224]

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[218] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 17, 2015.

[219] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 95.

[220] A "close" is a small open space or tiny alley that runs between a block of buildings. Over a dozen closes jut out from Main Street, connecting it with the shoreline in the north or Victoria Place and James Street in the south.

[221] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 25.

[222] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 100-101.

[223] This shop sold items like paraffin oil for lamps, knives, twine, wicks, clothes lines, paint, and shoe polish.

[224] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 91-92.

Newhaveners enjoyed patronizing a variety of food-related businesses. Newhaven Main Street contained at least two bakeries and a dairy; three butchers;[225] a dozen pubs or restaurants of differing sizes that served alcohol;[226] several sweet shops or ladies who sold homemade treats under their stairwells, like Jeannie Falconer and her toffee-covered sweets;[227] Gisiteri's Fish and Chip shop; and three ice creameries.[228]

The four Italian families living in Newhaven, the Gisiteris, the Lannis, the Rinaldis and the Crollas, ran the fish and chippy and ice creameries.[229] Because of its delicious fish and chips and gelato, Gisiteri's was a very popular establishment, and the villagers claimed George and Mary as one of their own despite being from outside Newhaven because they brought such a delicious treat into the village.[230] Ben Crolla's ice cream shop was the "brightest in the village," selling tobacco, cigarettes, newspapers, candies, and all soda shop specialties on top of its Italian ice cream.[231] There were also seven grocers,[232] like the Leith Provident Co-operative Society (the "Co-op") or Thomson's Grocery, with each specializing in selling certain kinds of foods or household items.[233] With so many commercial options along Main Street, Newhaveners rarely felt the need to leave the village, and they did so for things they could not get or do in the village, like buying new clothes or going to watch a movie.

Continuing to move west through Newhaven, St. Andrew's Square sat right in the center of the village on the northern side of Main Street. Here both residents and visitors

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[225] George Hackland, interview with John Mackie, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[226] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 28.
[227] "Offal Ideas," *The Scotsman*, February 23, 1978.
[228] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 110.
[229] Ibid., 73.
[230] Ibid., 2.
[231] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[232] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 50.
[233] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 83.

to Newhaven walked through to the Fishmarket on the harbor. The trams also moved through this space and bypassed the rest of Main Street by traveling next to the shoreline. The Peacock Inn was just around the corner, still a social center and place of memory after almost two centuries, its walls lined with pictures of Newhaven dating back to 1844.[234] Joining with the locals who ate and drank there, upper class men in Edinburgh were known to visit the Peacock and reminisce about their younger days, as well as enjoy the Peacock's famous fish dinners.[235]

Just a couple hundred feet to the west of St. Andrew's Square, pedestrians walking through the village encountered two of the oldest places in Newhaven. The first, located in the wall of the post office at Number 6 Auchinleck Court on the southern side of Main Street, was an ancient stone marker.[236] Created in 1588 to congratulate Newhaven's residents for their help in defeating the Spanish Armada, the tablet said "in the neam of God" and in Latin "guided by the stars on land and sea."[237] If anyone used to know why "name" was spelled "neam," the Newhaveners have long forgotten.[238] The second was the remnants of all that survived of King James IV's St. Mary & St. James Chapel after the English demolished it during the invasion of 1544.[239] The Chapel's broken pieces were the oldest part of Newhaven, and they filled a small greenspace on the northern side of Main Street in Westmost Close. These ancient ruins contained two walls facing opposite each other and a graveyard in between.[240]

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[234] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 170.
[235] Wilson McLaren, "Noted Tavern Revisited," *Edinburgh Evening News*, August 15, 1942.
[236] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 170.
[237] Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know."
[238] Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.
[239] Groome, "Newhaven," 6.
[240] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 172.

The last key site along Newhaven Main Street in 1928 was the Newhaven Fisherman's Hall, home of the Society of Free Fishermen and another important site of belonging, which sat near the end of Main Street's northern side before it intersected with Craighall Road. The Hall had originally been a new school built in 1817, but after the school closed, the Society began remodeling the building in 1877. As a way to celebrate Newhaven's famous beginning and link it with the villagers' main profession today, the Society chose to remodel the hall in a décor that resembled the *Great Michael*. When it opened on January 18, 1878 during a grand ceremony with local dignitaries, the Hall had been refurbished into a professional meeting place for its members.[241] The Society held a grand bazaar for two days in Edinburgh's Music Hall to raise funds to pay off the building's debts, and they were successful, largely in part because they handed out thousands of fliers with a Newhaven fishwife on the cover explaining the bazaar's purpose to passers-by.[242] Newhaven Main Street ended at a four-way intersection with three other roads: Pier Place, Craighall Road, and Starbank Road.

Pier Place traveled northeast around the northern block of Newhaven's buildings, running in the space between those structures and the Firth of Forth, and then ended at the northern side of St. Andrew's Square. The tram route ran along Pier Place as it bypassed the western half of Newhaven Main Street and continued on to Craighall and Starbank Roads.[243] Walking west and then turning around the corner by taking a right off of Main Street onto Pier Place, pedestrians passed the Pier Place Hotel on their right and the harbor's western breakwater on their left. Next to the hotel, St. Andrew's Church,

[241] Ibid., 161.
[242] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 29.
[243] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 97.

with its tall, Gothic spire, sat looking out over the harbor, a church home for many of the village's Christians. St. Andrews changed denominations three times during its history, but it began in the Free Church of Scotland.[244] The Newhaven fisher families who originally built St. Andrew's in 1852 wanted their own place of religious worship by the harbor, in their minds protecting the men who went out to see every week to fish, so they called it the "Fishermen's Church."[245]

The last two places of significance on the northern side of the village were Newhaven Harbor, with its bustling Fishmarket, and the Halley. In 1928, the Fishmarket was 32-years-old, and as a Newhaven social center, it was extremely busy, serving approximately 500 buyers[246] every day except Sundays.[247] A "hive of activity," patrons from around Edinburgh walked into a building that was wet, crowded, and filled with the smell of fresh fish and sound of people yelling.[248] Fish inspections began at 5:00 a.m., and the selling started two hours later. With twelve booths inside, sellers sold their fish "fresh off the Forth" by auction to four main groups: fishmongers, chippies (fish and chip shop owners), fishwives, and individual buyers. Fishmeal makers would purchase any extra fish not sold wholesale by the day's end, which was 11:00 a.m., when the Fishmarket's superintendent and his staff would hose down the entire facility after its close.[249] Buyers took Newhaven fish out of the Fishmarket and sent it all over the United Kingdom, including as far away as London.[250]

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[244] "Newhaven Free Church (St. Andrews)," Granton History, last accessed February 9, 2020, http://www.grantonhistory.org/churches/churches_19.htm?LMCL=nCZguk.
[245] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 164.
[246] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 28.
[247] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 62.
[248] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 43.
[249] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 58-59.
[250] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 53.

The general goal of operations at the Fishmarket was simple: facilitate the selling of its seller's fish in an equitable way for all parties involved. In order to ensure fairness, everything in the market was heavily regulated. The Market Officer required all fishermen to leave a sample of their daily catch with his office, and the Officer made sure that the sample matched the fish being sold.[251] A Justice of the Peace sat at the gate to oversee things and ensure that business dealings were executed fairly.[252] The Fishmarket's superintendent also imposed a token system to regulate the dozens of wooden fish boxes flowing in and out of the market. Patrons paid a deposit to the Market Officer and then received a token to take a box out of the market. When they returned, they handed in their box and token, and the Market Officer gave them their deposit back. This process protected the Fishmarket's wooden box supply.[253] Old boxes were either sold for firewood or thrown over the eastern breakwater as waste into the Halley.

The shoreline area on the other side the Fishmarket (opposite the harbor) comprised what locals called "the Halley." This large open space ran east along the waterfront all the way from the Peacock Inn to the George Street Bridge,[254] and it had a high concrete wall separating the beach from the dry land.[255] The Corporation built the sea wall to prevent erosion and protect Annfield and its promenade from the sea.[256] Newhaveners used the Halley for four main purposes: sitting on the beach, letting children play,[257] storing their boats,[258] and disposing their waste. Three kippering

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[251] Ibid., 59.
[252] Ibid., *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 42.
[253] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 62.
[254] Margaret Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[255] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 83.
[256] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[257] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 55.
[258] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 83.

businesses, Croan's, Kelley's, and Kippering Works, were housed in small buildings in the Halley in the area next to the harbor.[259]

Returning to the four-way intersection at the western end of Newhaven Main Street, Craighall Road headed south into Trinity and then on to Edinburgh. The Edinburgh Corporation widened Craighall Road in 1822 for King George IV and his large entourage to be able to visit the Chair Pier[260] in nearby Granton.[261] The engineers made the road-widening possible by cutting through the steep hill Craighall Road ran on, explaining why the Newhaveners referred to this street as "the Cut." Built in 1836, Newhaven Parish Church sat on Craighall Road before "the Cut" began. Almost all of the village's Christians who did not attend St. Andrew's went to Newhaven Parish Church's services, which belonged to the Church of Scotland.[262] Just "up the Cut" (south of Newhaven) was Trinity, a neighboring village described by the Newhaveners as "posh" and "toffee-nosed" due to its nicer homes and streets.[263] Like Jessefield Terrace and Hawthornvale, Trinity being 50 feet above sea level played into the Newhaveners' perception of their neighbors as thinking of themselves as being "above," or in a higher class, the people of Newhaven, leading to the local phrase "the toff's up the Brae."[264]

Even though they were a still part of Newhaven, the Newhaveners who lived on Starbank Road were also seen by the rest of the Newhaveners as being "more posh" than the rest of the village; sometimes they were even referred to as "Starbankers."[265] There

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[259] Lighterness and Dickson, interview with author, March 17, 2015.

[260] This popular tourist attraction (at the time) was a pier comprised of chained bridges that extended a quarter mile out into the Forth.

[261] o'Leith, "Newhaven's Past Glories," 17.

[262] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 77.

[263] Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.

[264] Chris Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

[265] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

was a definitive class divide here, as the Starbankers, while not rich, could afford more expensive homes on Starbank than their fellow villagers on Main Street. The three- and four-story apartment buildings were newer, nicer, and more spacious with indoor bathrooms, and the tenements had an aerie[266] behind it for the Starbanker families to enjoy.[267]

If the Starbankers needed more open space to utilize, they, and the rest of the village, could go next door to Starbank Park, the last Newhaven landmark within the bridge-to-bridge border. Starbank Park was almost as spacious as Fishermen's Park, but it served as a traditional park created for relaxation, complete with an ornamental fountain, trees, and many flower beds.[268] Maintained by a grounds keeper employed by the Corporation who lived in a house in the park, Starbank Park was known for its beautiful rose gardens.[269] Newhaven children loved to play in the park, but the groundskeeper often chased them off for fear that they would damage his "well-manicured park." The lone exception to his overbearing protection of the park grounds came on Easter Sunday, when the villagers would celebrate Easter by letting their children roll Easter eggs down the park hillside.[270] This chapter closes with the story of another Newhaven celebration in 1928, one the villagers did not know the significance of at the time: the launching of the *Reliance*, the last fishing vessel ever built in Newhaven.

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[266] A small, open greenspace.
[267] Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.
[268] "The Newhaven Presentation Fountain," *Leith Observer*.
[269] Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.
[270] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 121.

The *Reliance*

Born in 1894, James "Jimmy" Ramsay was a Starbanker and sea captain with a good reputation who wanted a better fishing vessel, so he ordered one from Allan and Brown, the shipbuilding company located in Fishermen's Park. When Allan and Brown finished constructing the ship on September 20, 1928, the entire village turned out to celebrate, just like it always did on the launching day for new ships. The headmaster of Victoria School even let the 200+ school children out early so that they could partake in the festivities.[271] With the trams and street traffic stopped and excitement in the air, the villagers gathered around Allan and Brown to see the new ship. The crowd waiting at the entrance of "Fishy Park" was not disappointed: the *Reliance* measured 33 feet long with a 12-foot beam and Kelvin engine, and several dozen men and boys began pulling the brand-new yawl through Main Street on its way down to the harbor.[272] One of those boys, George Hackland, was 8-years-old at the time, and he serves as one of the sources for this dissertation.

At some point along the processional, a photographer from the *Leith Observer* snapped a photograph of the event, and this picture became the most iconic picture in Newhaven history.[273] It hung on the wall of the Peacock Inn until the Inn closed in 2016, as well as on the wall of the Newhaven exhibit in the Edinburgh People's Museum and several local restaurants. It also appeared in dozens of newspaper articles and books written about Newhaven, Edinburgh, and fishing over the last century. Why was the photograph so famous? The answer is because unbeknownst to the people of Newhaven,

[271] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 157.
[272] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 7.
[273] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 162.

and despite their joy at another new fishing vessel for the harbor, they were launching their last ship. The launch of the *Reliance* signified a crucial moment in their history, the moment when their way-of-life, and the village built around it, began to decline due to factors beyond their control, a common occurrence for the fisher people living in Newhaven.

Conclusion

For over 400 years, Newhaven, the "famous Firth of Forth" fishing village with "all its romantic and varied history," and its people relied upon the sea to provide for themselves, so it is ironic that the name of the last fishing ship ever built in Newhaven was the *Reliance*.[274] The name of the ship, and the celebration surrounding its launch, might even suggest that Newhaveners were unaware, at least in 1928, of changes on the horizon. By that same year, though, the nation knew of Newhaven and associated it with hard work (living off of the sea),[275] perseverance (overcoming "so many marked changes of fortune"),[276] defiance (of Edinburgh),[277] and independence (being able to take care of themselves).[278]

In 1936, George Blake summed up the national perception about Newhaven when he lauded its fishwives and fish dinners, but he added to this accurate portrayal when he went on to say that "there is no place in Scotland that can be taken for granted in that casual way, particularly a place so foreign, so characterful, so compact as this fishing village that defies to this day the encircling city." For four hundred years, the

[274] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 621.
[275] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[276] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[277] Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know."
[278] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 152.

Newhaveners and the leaders of Edinburgh fought off and on for control over Newhaven, its spaces, and its future, a battle between the village and the city.[279] Despite the forced incorporation into Edinburgh in 1920, the Newhaveners had been successful enough in the contest that their way-of-life had survived.

Over time, fishing had been a challenging profession for Newhaveners; costly, dangerous, and arduous, but one that the villagers and their ancestors depended upon year after year. This chapter explained how Newhaven became famous for four of six main reasons: building the *Great Michael*, persevering through the difficult fishing profession, serving fish dinners, and selling the delicacy of fresh oysters to seafood lovers around the country. It reviewed important moments and events during those years in Newhaven history that helped define the people of Newhaven's identity as a village community dedicated to fishing as their primary livelihood. Chapter 1 also described Newhaven's significant places and general spatial layout in 1928, the pinnacle year of the village's existence, in order to provide a reference point for the transformative changes, and subsequent decline, that occurred in the following decades as it transitioned from a village to a neighborhood. Chapter 2 will explore the vocation of fishing, the fisher families who depended on the profession to survive, and how fishing determined the characteristics of all aspects of Newhavener families' individual and collective identities.

[279] Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know."

# Chapter 2

## The People

### Introduction

Fishing, and the incredible demands it placed upon those families involved in it, is central to understanding the Newhaven way-of-life, and subsequent worldview, that developed there over time.[1] Due to its high rate of injuries and fatalities, no profession is more grueling, dangerous, and unpredictable than fishing out on the high seas, even today.[2] A fisherman is only as good as his last catch, yet for over four centuries, the fisher families of Newhaven staked out a living on the Firth of Forth through harvesting various kinds of fish. Their perseverance within such a precarious profession explains why George Blake, after his visit to Newhaven in 1936, described the village as being "concerned only, utterly, and exhaustively with the sea and its ways."[3] In Newhaven, if a person was born into fishing, then it was going to define all major aspects of his or her life, and in the words of lifelong Newhavener Margaret Campbell, "there was nothing else for it."[4]

Working in the fishing profession determined the context in which the villagers structured their daily lives and defined their class, gender, and familial roles. Fishing placed a heavy burden on the families who participated in it: the men caught the fish; the

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[1] Alex Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'," *Weekly Scotsman*, July 11, 1936.

[2] Laine Welch, "Commercial Fishing Remains One of the Most Dangerous Jobs in the U.S.," *Capital City Weekly*, May 9, 2018, https://www.juneauempire.com/life/commercial-fishing-remains-one-of-the-most-dangerous-jobs-in-the-u-s/.

[3] George Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know: Canny Men and Caller Herrin'," *Scottish Daily Express*, February 7, 1936.

[4] Margaret Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, December 8, 1993. Here, Margaret is saying that it was all they knew, so they had no choice but to follow in their parents' footsteps.

women sold it, and the children helped in the family business whenever they could. The struggle to survive in an unpredictable profession required everyone to pitch in, and this led to the blurring of traditional notions of gender roles in Newhaven's fisher families in the years leading up to 1928.

Before the coming of the trawlers and wage employment in the late nineteenth century, the share system, which gave every crew member a percentage of the profits, ensured that all men aboard a ship had a vested interest in its success.[5] Also, because many of the villagers were related to the captain or his wife in the insular village, the share system further invested the community in the work of each Newhavener fishing vessel; some of their family members even owned a share in the ship's business. While Newhaven had a social hierarchy of its own, one in which families of ship captains and owners sat at the top, the share system "uncut traditional notions of class consciousness" by giving every crew member a sense of ownership and responsibility in their work.[6] As one of Newhaven's primary sites of belonging, a ship's working conditions, and the danger the ocean presented to all men on the ship while out at sea, further obscured notions of class distinction and introduced a sense that the Newhaveners were "all in this together." The advent of trawler fishing represented the industrialization of Scottish fishing and transformed fishing along the Firth of Forth, increasing traditional divisions of class among the fisher families.

Because the men of Newhaven spent most of their days either out on the Forth or the North Sea, the women of the village exercised much more authority in decision-

[5] Paul Thompson, Tony Walley, and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1983), 255.

[6] Ibid., 245-6.

making than many of their contemporary female counterparts throughout Britain, especially within the family. While gender roles were strictly defined by the villagers, it is appropriate to describe Newhaven as a having elements of matriarchy within its community due to the autonomy and authority the fishwives enjoyed as compared to other women around Scotland. However, in the years leading up to the twentieth century, outsiders accused Newhaven of being a matriarchal village because of the unique role of the fishwives in running both their families and village life. This was not accurate.

What outsiders were witnessing was uncommon for pre-modern times: a balance of power between Newhaven's men and women. Scottish society has traditionally been very patriarchal, a place where hyper-masculinity was common and the men were firmly in charge as the "head of the household."[7] As such, Scots viewed any empowerment of women that lessened, or even seemed to lessen, the power of Scottish men with suspicion; women behaving in a "masculine" way by making major family decisions, handling the finances, and (sometimes) telling men what to do was not socially acceptable. Newhaven seemed matriarchal in comparison to the rest of Scottish society. The projection of matriarchy onto Newhaven by those who did not live there was also a marginalization tactic used to stereotype Newhaven's fisher folk by placing them in a separate social category that was not normal and "other," thus protecting Scottish social norms outside of Newhaven.[8]

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[7] Arthur McIvor, "Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland," in A. Dickson and J. Treble, eds., *People and Society in Scotland Volume III, 1914-1990* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), 137-8.

[8] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 40.

Because of the fishwives' unusual role in the village and out at work in Edinburgh, Newhaven was a place where the fishwives became its public face to outsiders for a variety of reasons, including royal visits from King George IV in 1822 and Queen Victoria in 1842 with Newhaven fishwives and the travels of the fisherwomen's choirs around Europe singing about life in Newhaven.[9] But the main association of the fishwives with Newhaven came from their work. If people in Edinburgh encountered a Newhavener, they were mostly like to meet a fishwife because the fishwives roamed Edinburgh's streets selling their fresh fish door-to-door while wearing their distinctive costumes. When J.M. Bertram wrote in 1883 that the "Newhaven fishwife has become quite a celebrity," he was referring to the fact that the fishwives had grown public awareness of Newhaven through their stories, which intrigued people from the monarch on down to the average British citizen. Jane Nadel-Klein even went so far as to write that the "fishwife has come to stand as an icon of the fisherfolk."[10] This was true of Newhaven's fisher women: they were simultaneously revered, beloved, intriguing, misunderstood, abnormal, and offensive to social norms, or any combination of these opinions, by outsiders who encountered them.

The working women of Newhaven and their plight was easily the most prominent and well-known reasons for Newhaven's fame. This chapter focuses on Newhaven's fisher family dynamics, describing the roles the fishermen, fishwives, and fisher children appropriated to themselves by living off of the sea, and by 1928, what the village

[9] J.G. Bertram, *The Underappreciated Fisher Folk: Their Round Life and Labour* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1883), 4.

[10] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 91.

community expected of each of them. Chapter 2 begins with a description of the profession of fishing itself.

## I. Fishing

### "The Sea's In the Blood"[11]

Fisher families spend their days catching and selling fish. As simple as this might sound, the work it took to survive in the fishing industry was incredibly challenging. The catching was very dangerous and unpredictable, while the selling was quite competitive and also unpredictable. Both imposed heavy burdens on the bodies of Newhavener men and women, who had to work tirelessly in order to make a living for their families. Indeed, the fishing industry, and all that came with it, was the main driver of the local economy in the villages along the Firth of Forth, especially Newhaven.[12]

Fishing was a family affair in which everyone had to work together to make ends meet.[13] In Newhaven, everyone lived in small spaces, intermarried, and worked in close proximity together, so for over four centuries of Newhaven's existence, the village became a tight-knit community focused solely on harvesting fish, transporting it to buyers, and selling it for a good price before the fish went bad.[14] During this time, Newhaven families accumulated great fishing expertise that they passed down through the generations. Their fishing vessels were usually owned by a father who employed his sons and male family members, or sometimes several families collectively owned and operated a vessel together[15] in what was referred to as the share system.[16] Since fishing

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[11] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, May 30, 2014.
[12] "Edinburgh-on-Sea: The City's Greatest Asset," *Evening News*, December 16, 1932.
[13] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 55-56.
[14] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, April 14, 1995.
[15] Tom McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 151.
[16] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 246.

and the income it provided fluctuated dramatically from week-to-week, families also endeavored to have other sources of income. Retired Newhaven fisherman John Liston captured this dynamic when he said, "you can put nets over, but you don't always get fish,"[17] so families performed a variety of sea-related jobs to supplement bad months and pad good ones. This included cleaning boats, ferrying people and cargo, and taking civilians out fishing for vacation purposes onto the Forth.[18]

Generally, Newhaven fisher families were poor, but they were considered by both outsiders and themselves to be less poor than their counterparts in the surrounding villages. Nadel-Klein found that being poor but not seeing themselves as being poverty-stricken or associating in any way with other poor people was a typical fisher trait.[19] It was emblematic of E.P. Thompson's argument that "class and class consciousness are not the same thing."[20] Today's Newhaveners described it as having enough to pay the bills and live decent lives, but not by much. Only families with skippers or first mates in them did well financially, and they often showed it by living in homes located higher up in elevation away from the sea, parts of Newhaven the villagers themselves considered to be more "posh" (nicer).[21]

Since class is a "historical phenomenon" that occurs in a specific historical context, it is important to understand how it developed and operated in Newhaven.[22] Because the Newhaveners were fisher people, outsiders saw them as being very low in

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[17] John K. Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, March 8, 1994.

[18] Chris Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community" (unpublished manuscript, 2013), 34.

[19] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 119.

[20] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (U.S.A.: Vintage Books, 1966), 10-11.

[21] Susan Edwards, Catherine Lighterness, Maureen MacGregor, Nessie Nisbet, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.

[22] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 9.

the social hierarchy. James Coule's research on fishing culture shows that in many places across Europe, fishing was seen as being the lowest of occupations, assigned to the lowest class of people.[23] Two fictional novels from the nineteenth century, Sir Walter Scott's *The Antiquary*[24] and Charles Reade's *Christie Johnstone*,[25] portray Newhaven's fisher people in this light. Even though the authors also attribute positive characteristics to Newhaven and other fishing villages, overall Scott's and Reade's works reflect the popular cultural bias of that time against fishing villages and their people.

Because of the physical nature of their work catching and transporting, the Newhaveners often did not smell good. In fact, many of the fishwives shared stories of not being welcome on Edinburgh's trams when they rode them to their door-to-door selling routes in the capital city due to their smell.[26] Plus, because Newhaven had a reputation for being a tight-knit community, outsiders viewed Newhaveners with a range of emotions, from suspicion and hostility to intrigue and favor. Outsiders treating and marginalizing the Newhaveners as being strange "others," different from themselves because of the villagers' work as fisher people, was one factor in the growth of Newhaven's insularity over time.

Before the trawlers replaced Newhaven's inshore fishing industry, there was no "proletarian class consciousness. Instead they held a very distinctive perception of social class, which sprang from the nature of the fishing economy."[27] The share system ensured a greater sense of equality among the fishermen because they all received a part of the

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[23] James Coule, *The Fisheries of Europe: An Economic Geography* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1972), x.

[24] Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1816).

[25] Charles Reade, *Christie Johnstone* (New York: Yurita Press, 2015).

[26] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 54.

[27] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 243.

profits from their work: this strengthened both "individualism and an interdependence across the normal boundaries of class."[28] The share system made the bond between fisher families stronger, even if some families did better than others financially due to the parents' work. Some husbands earned more by serving as the captain of a ship or its first mate, and some wives were more successful on their selling routes than others. Serving in positions of authority, like being an elder at church or officer in the Society of Free Fishermen, also improved a Newhavener's social standing. The key here is that Newhaven's fisher families thought of themselves as "a class of their own, united, and wrongly undervalued" by the rest of Scottish society.[29]

By 1928, almost all of the families living in Newhaven worked in the fishing industry. The men either went out on the deep-sea trawlers for long trips away from home, or they spent their work days serving on the smaller yawls[30] that fished the Firth of Forth.[31] The women divided up the fish, packed them into their creels,[32] and walked the streets of Edinburgh on their usual routes selling fresh fish door-to-door. The children helped their parents with baiting the lines, repairing the nets, and performing odd jobs around Newhaven or neighboring areas to bring in supplemental income for the family. They also depended upon one another to face the perils that came with fishing.

The Blood's in the Sea

Fishing was an inherently hazardous profession. The weather, and the waves it produced, continually threatened the men who worked on fishing vessels traversing the

[28] Ibid., 244.
[29] Ibid., 248.
[30] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.
[31] A more thorough description of trawling and day fishing on the yawls will be given later in the chapter.
[32] The large, heavy wooden basket for transporting fish that they carried on their backs.

Firth of Forth and the North Sea. Newhaveners say that no one, no matter how many years working on the sea, has ever been able to trust or predict the sea and its patterns, so the villagers both revered and hated it.[33] This dynamic was reflected in Tom McGowran's comment that the men of Newhaven knew "the bed of the Forth better than their own," a statement that has two equally true meanings. First, after centuries of expertise built over several generations, no one was more familiar with the Firth of Forth than Newhaven fishermen; they held a reputation of almost being able "to see underwater."[34] The second meaning is just as important: so many Newhaven men drowned at sea that they knew the ocean floor better than their own bed.

The statistics of work-related deaths over the past two centuries reveal just how dangerous fishing was for the men who worked in it. Fishing sits at the top. In 1884, the worst year for fishing fatalities in British history, 494 fishermen perished at sea, which was one out of every 60 fishermen in Great Britain.[35] Almost a century later, the 1974-1978 period saw just over one percent of all fishermen die at sea. That equated to about ten times as many deaths coal miners experienced in the mines, and 50 times as many in manufacturing, which were the next two most dangerous professions on the list after fishing.[36] More recently, in the year 2000, fishing still had one of the highest mortality rates: there were ten times the number of fishermen deaths as there were fatalities in the areas of mining, construction, and agriculture combined.[37]

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[33] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 31.
[34] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 42.
[35] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 21.
[36] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 360.
[37] Ibid., 136.

Fishermen worked with machines and tools that could also injure or kill them, and they usually operated these devices when they were trying to keep their balance while standing on a ship moving through ocean waters and sea winds. Accidents were common, so the variety of dangers fishermen faced ranged from sharp hooks that could pierce and cause a life-threatening infection to paraffin-powered engines with boilers that exploded from over-heating or old age.[38]

Not surprisingly, the worst situation any fisherman faced was being washed overboard; hearing a crew member yell "man overboard" struck great fear into the hearts of all fishermen. In bad weather, rescuing the man who fell into the water was often more dangerous than letting him drown, so the skipper or first mate had to make a difficult judgment call that took the rest of the crew into consideration as he contemplated rescuing his crew member. Ian Smith, a Newhavener who spent his entire career at sea, faced this very situation in 1964. When Ian's trawler encountered a bad storm in the North Sea, the deck shifted suddenly, causing a shipmate to slam his head against a plank, knocking him unconscious. A huge wave washed the unconscious man overboard before any of the crew could grab him. Because of the height of the ship deck from the water, and the violence of the wind and waves, Ian knew that trying to turn around and rescue his unconscious shipmate would put the rest of the crew's lives in jeopardy, so he chose to let the man drown. Ian's decision, even though he knew it was the right one, haunted him for decades, and 50 years later after the event, he said that it was still one of the worst moments of his entire life. This memory included the torment of having to go and inform his mate's widow upon the ship's return that her husband had drowned.[39]

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[38] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[39] Denise Brace, interview with author, Museum of Edinburgh, May 20, 2014.

Sir Walter Scott summed up the danger fishermen faced through the fictional character he created in *The Antiquary* named Maggie Mucklebackit, a character Scott based on his experiences buying fish from Newhaven fishwives. Maggie summarized the Newhavener perspective on fishing's dangers very well when she told her buyer: "It's no fish ye're buying – it's men's lives."[40] In a bad storm, families could lose all of their men due to the fact that fathers and sons often worked together. In the Great Storm of 1811, 189 fishermen from the Firth of Forth's fishing villages lost their lives at sea, 17 of them from Newhaven who drowned on four Newhaven boats that sank.[41]

Many of the Newhaveners interviewed for this dissertation shared stories of men they knew who perished at sea. Margaret Campbell, who was born in 1909, said her grandmother lost all three of her brothers to the North Sea, and her grandmother never recovered from the shock, often breaking out into tears when she thought of them. Margaret lost her brother, and her family never recovered his body. Alex Dickson, the Fishmarket superintendent in 1976, lost his father and brother when they were fishing off the coast of Aberdeen.[42] Kitty Banyard, another lifelong Newhavener, remembered the loss of the Newhaven fishing vessel *Margaret Paton*, and she said that no one ever found out the specific reason why it sank, causing all hands to perish.[43]

The threat of constant peril Newhaven fishermen faced, and the hard-working fishwives who walked the streets selling their husbands' fish, led Caroline Oliphant, who's title was Lady Nairne, to write the song "Caller Herrin'"[44] in 1821 to music

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[40] Scott, *The Antiquary*, 124.
[41] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 31.
[42] J.M. Russell, "How is Newhaven?," *The Scots Magazine* (March 1976), 624.
[43] Denise Brace, Helen Clark and Elaine Greg, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs* (Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council Department of Recreation, 1998), 23.
[44] The full text of "Caller Herrin'" is provided in Appendix A.

composed by Nathaniel Gow.[45] Lady Nairne based the song on her several encounters with Newhaven fishwives. "Caller Herrin'" is sung from the perspective of a Newhaven fishwife as she walks the streets of Edinburgh selling fish from her creel. "Caller" means "fresh," so the fishwife is telling everyone who can hear her that she has fresh fish for them to buy. The song focused on the hardships of bringing fresh fish to market. In six verses, the song talks about the travails of being a fishwife, and how Newhaven men faithfully ventured out into turbulent waters to bring back fresh fish for the Scottish people, risking their lives every time.[46] If Newhaven had a theme song, it would be "Caller Herrin'" because it reflects their daily struggles.

The Newhaven fisherwomen's choirs made "Caller Herrin'" famous as they traveled Europe, and authors often referenced it in books and newspaper articles written about Newhaven over the past century.[47] In 1936, Alex Mackey wrote about his concern that the number of Newhaven fishwives walking the streets of Edinburgh was diminishing, but he took comfort in his belief that "Caller Herrin'" would preserve their street cries "for the ages."[48] Forty years later, when J.M. Russell visited Newhaven and became concerned about the major changes he saw there, he wrote, "whatever the future, nothing can take away Newhaven's greatest gift to the world, "Caller Herrin'."[49] It is still sung in Newhaven today at Gala Day and other festivities.

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[45] Eunice G. Murray, *Scottish Homespun* (London/Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1947), 82-83.

[46] Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1986), 157.

[47] A more thorough discussion of singing and its importance as a part of Newhaven's culture will be given in Chapter 3.

[48] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."

[49] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 632.

"Caller" Fish "Drawn Frae the Forth"[50]

Newhaven fisher families in 1928 sold any type of fish they could catch, including haddock, sole, whitings, skate, and cod; but they mainly sold herring. The harvesting of herring began in 1792, and legend attributes its discovery to a Mr. Thomas Brown of Donibristle who was merely fishing for pleasure, caught some herring, and loved the taste.[51] The *1st Statistical Account of Scotland* confirmed that 1792 was the first year Newhaveners began harvesting herring.[52] Newhaven fishermen were aware of herring's presence in the Forth, but they did not harvest it until that year for three reasons: the herring's unpredictability, its usefulness as bait for other larger fish, and the abundance of white fish and oysters in the Forth. The delicious fish Mr. Brown brought back changed the village's collective opinion about herring's tastiness and potential profitability, even though herring was not very dependable for catching.[53] This discovery, and subsequent change in attitudes about herring, made it the main catch for fishermen for the next 150 years.[54]

Herring moved along the Gulf Stream up until the 1950s, and they were always "seasonal" and "somewhat arbitrary" in their movement, coming up to the surface to either eat or spawn.[55] Herring shoals arrived each year as "a wayward and unpredictable harvest" due to their "erratic voyaging." In a year's time, herring shoals spent almost the entire year in the open sea, swimming just below the surface of the coldest and deepest

[50] Lady Nairne, "Caller Herrin'," in *Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne*, ed. Rev. Charles Rogers (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1886), 164-165.
[51] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 157.
[52] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 143.
[53] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 157.
[54] Malcolm Archibald, "Salty Tales of a Life on the Ocean Wave," in "Villages of the Forth," *Evening News*, December 3, 1988.
[55] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 27.

parts of those waters. Their behavior changed during their spawning season, when the females traveled to coastal grounds to lay their eggs and the males followed close behind fertilizing them, usually during the August to October period for Atlantic herring. Spawning season gave fishermen their best chance to harvest the herring, which came to the surface for food. Fishermen were able to use their own empirical senses to catch herring: when the herring came up to eat, the sea's surface shined with an oily glint and the air filled with a pungent odor the fishermen recognized as belonging to herring. Sometimes fishermen could smell herring over a mile away if the school of herring was large enough.[56]

Tom Wilson, a lifelong Newhaven fisherman, shared that during the first 100 years of herring harvesting, Newhaven's inshore yawls could travel 30 minutes out onto the Forth to catch the herring, but by the early twentieth century, skippers often had to take their deep-sea boats nine to twelve hours out to deep sea fishing grounds in order to find them. During the October to March harvesting season, 80-100 boats would fish the Forth daily for herring.[57] Before 1914, Scotland dominated the herring trade, selling cured herring to continental Europe and the United States, with Scottish fishermen landing nearly 30-40 million herring annually. After World War I, Scottish fish consumption declined by almost 50 percent due to seafood's high prices, and combined with increased competition from Norwegian and Icelandic fishermen, Scotland's control of the world herring market diminished.[58] Fortunately for the villagers, there were other fish they could sell to make up for the loss.

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[56] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 141.
[57] Ibid., 143.
[58] Ibid., 146.

Haddock, sole, whitings, skate, and cod made up the remainder of the Newhaveners' catches in 1928. Haddock could be found not far off-shore, while cod swam about 30-40 miles out into the North Sea, requiring deep-sea boats to harvest them. Fishermen would drag lines about one-half a mile long with 700-1000 hooks on each of them along the bottom of the Forth in order to catch haddock, while they used 1000-foot long lines with 160 hooks on them, with seven or eight lines per boat tied together and dragged behind the ship, for cod. Some families took haddock to a smokehouse in Fisherman's Park where Newhaven women cured the fish and then sold it at a higher price than non-cured haddock.[59]

Magnus Flucker, who spent his life as a professional fisherman, worked on a trawler out of Granton that caught haddock, sole, whitings, skate, and cod, taking 10-day, 200-mile trips to Aberdeen and back to find them.[60] Any immature fish, which the villagers referred to as "prawns," were thrown back into the sea. This prevented overfishing and ensured that new generations of fish were available for harvesting in the future.[61] In fact, Scottish law outlawed prawn-fishing for this reason, even though it was difficult to police.[62] The trips the fishermen took out to sea to catch the variety of fish described here were very taxing and challenging, some more so than others depending on the type of vessel they traveled on. Newhaven fishermen either served on a yawl or a trawler.

[59] Ibid., 150.
[60] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.
[61] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 43.
[62] Ibid., 36.

Yawl's Aboard!

Up until the early twentieth century, Newhaven fishermen operated yawls for fishing, "wee boats" that sailed within the Firth of Forth and along the Scottish coast on wind power, never too far from the shore.[63] The inshore yawls used the share system as a means of ownership and as a method of payment for their crews.[64] These inshore fishing ships traditionally ranged from 45 to 60 feet long, with new vessels in the 1890s and later years being built to as much as 75 feet. The Newhaveners referred to these longer yawls as "fifies."[65] George Liston built the *Pilgrim* in 1913, the first power-driven fishing yawl in Newhaven history,[66] and James Inglis's paraffin engine boat the *Guide Me* joined the *Pilgrim* in Newhaven Harbor soon after. All Newhaven boats were constructed in Fisherman's Park, except for the very largest ones, which fisher families had built in Port Seton.[67] The launching of these ships was accompanied by a huge celebration in the village, and the Victoria School headmaster let the children out half a day early to join in the festivities for these important events. According to Margaret Campbell, the children needed to participate in the launchings because it represented the continuation of their way-of-life.[68]

By 1928, Newhaven Harbor was full of yawls of various sizes powered by paraffin engines. A year earlier, the Wilson brothers launched Newhaven's first "fully-enclosed fishing boat," the *Jessie and Annie*, which was seen as quite a marvel among the

[63] Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.

[64] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 244.

[65] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 156.

[66] James Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, ed. Robin Black (Glasgow: M'Naughtan & Sinclair, L.T.D., 1951), 100.

[67] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 157.

[68] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 24.

villagers.[69] Jim Wilson's family owned two newer yawls, the *Endeavor* and the *Ocean Skip*.[70] Margaret Campbell's brother's boat, the *Newhaven NB,*[71] joined the *Boy David*, the *Gratitude*, the *Ida*, and the *Mayqueen* as members of Newhaven's fishing fleet, with the *Mayqueen* being the biggest one of all.[72] Indeed, inshore fishing on the yawls was a family business for most villagers where all of the men worked on the ships, and the women and children supported them by selling the fish or helping with the selling process.[73]

Families also participated in preparation for the men's daily voyages by baiting lines and repairing nets. Esther Liston, who was famous for being the last Newhaven fishwife to walk the streets selling fish, remembered shelling mussels with her parents and extended family in Fisherman's Park as a part of their daily ritual. They placed the shelled mussels, which they collected from the banks of the Forth, on hooks, and then put every hook on a line until it was full. Each line had hundreds of hooks, the number depending on the type of fish the fishermen hoped to catch, and Esther's family laid them out on the ground until they finished baiting every individual hook.[74] The process of baiting lines during working days was a common one for most Newhaven families, one that Margaret Campbell described as being "hard work" that they all dreaded doing.[75] They felt the same way about working on the fishing nets.

Around 1900, Newhaven began to transition away from using line fishing as its primary means of catching fish to a combination of line and net fishing; this had the

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[69] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 100.
[70] James Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, March 1995.
[71] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[72] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[73] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 38.
[74] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.
[75] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.

practical effect of easing the daily burden on the women and children of the village who no longer had to be responsible for baiting so many lines. The only practical way to catch surface-dwelling fish like herring and mackerel in profitable quantities was to use drift-netting, where the yawls dragged the nets behind them along the surface of the sea.[76] Not surprisingly, these nets required constant mending, so both Newhaven men and women mended nets on a weekly basis.[77] Once the nets were beyond repair, families purchased new nets from a variety of companies, including Stuarts in Musselburgh,[78] or closer by at Cormacks in Leith or Milnes in Newhaven. Jim Wilson remembered a strong preference for the Stuart nets among Newhaven fisher families because they would tailor-make the nets according to the specifications given to them.[79] The better the nets, the better the catch; so Newhaven fisher families kept a close eye on the condition of their lines and nets, which they used every week of the year.

The Newhaven fleet stayed busy throughout the year, no matter the season. The daily routine of inshore fishing varied depending on the season and the fish the ship was harvesting,[80] so the yawl crews followed a seasonal pattern for their operations.[81] The Newhaven fleet based its fishing operations out of Newhaven Harbor in the cold months, staying closer to home during the rougher winter weather, and then moved farther away to the area near the mouth of the Firth of Forth around the River Clyde during the summer season when the tides were less dangerous. Margaret Campbell remembers

[76] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 151.
[77] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[78] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 42.
[79] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 27.
[80] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 47.
[81] Ibid., 40.

boats coming from all over Scotland to fish in the Forth during the winter months, packing the harbor with ships and increasing competition for the Newhaven fishermen.[82]

Yawls sailed out of Newhaven Harbor unless the tide was low to begin their voyages.[83] The yawls' daily trips out onto the Forth or along the Scottish coast had one goal, which skipper John Stephenson described as "catch as much as you could, and in as short a time as possible."[84] Then the ships had to return to the harbor as quickly as possible, too. It was hard work; the men were usually given no time to rest unless it was for a quick meal, which they brought in a bag to feed themselves on their journey out to sea and back.[85] The ship had no toilets, and there was no extra space to relax in.[86] Once the fishing started, it was "all hands on deck." Because the yawls could not venture out very far into the sea, they primarily caught herring, which was the most important catch to make a profit.[87] The fishermen wasted nothing they caught: guts and heads were sold as manure; the livers and roes were sent to England for sale; and the cod-liver oil was a valuable item that the fisher families could use in their homes or sell or trade as a commodity.[88] After landing their catches, the skipper would pay every crew member using the share system, which paid the men a percentage of the profits based on their position in the crew and their level of professional fishing experience.[89]

Jock Robb, who spent his entire life at sea, said that you either "went on the trawlers, or out to sea on the herring boats at Newhaven... That was normally a family

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[82] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[83] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 38.
[84] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, June 11, 2014.
[85] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 39.
[86] Ibid., 33.
[87] Ibid., 43.
[88] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 150.
[89] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

thing."[90] As hard and dangerous as it was to work on the inshore yawls, the trawlers were even worse.[91]

Trawler Herrin'

A trawler is a fishing vessel that uses the trawling fishing method, where the ship drags a net called a trawl behind it, to catch fish. Initially powered by steam engines after their creation during the 1870s, trawlers incorporated the latest nautical technologies so well that it made them much more efficient in their catches. Trawlers were generally larger and sturdier than inshore yawls, ranging anywhere from 40-80 feet during the 1880-1928 period. Because of their superior design and technology, trawlers could travel hundreds of miles into the deep sea to fish. A typical trawler could bring in three or four times as large a haul of fish as an inshore yawl for a lower overall price, and they did so with much greater consistency. In other words, trawlers were more lucrative than their inshore yawl counterparts, at least for their owners.[92]

While inshore fishing varied depending on the season, the trawlers worked a much more predictable annual schedule due to their ability to travel greater distances out to sea regardless of the time of year.[93] As Jock Robb and his fellow Newhaven fishermen recounted, a normal trawler voyage from a Granton Harbor-based trawler would usually last for 12 days, up to 15 if the destination was further away. Six to 12 men comprised trawler crews, with 12 being the usual complement. Most were Newhaveners, but every now and then, a fisherman from Leith or Granton would join the crew.[94]

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 20.
[92] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 161.
[93] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 47.
[94] George Hackland, interview with John Mackie, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.

The trawler would leave Granton Harbor and sail towards the North Sea.[95] Immediately, the men would begin looking for signs of fish swimming below; this included watching what the other boats were doing, too.[96] The ship would then head to either the Scottish West Coast, the Faro Islands, Iceland, or a combination of all three, depending on the success of their catches. An example of a real trip was Magnus Flucker's trawler, which would leave Granton for 10 days and make a 200-mile round trip to Aberdeen and back, catching haddock, sole, whitings, cod, and codling[97] along the way.[98] When the crew returned to Granton, the men were given two days off; this schedule meant that Newhaven fishermen were away at sea for 320 days a year on average. Before their time off, though, the crew would load their catches onto lorries that took the catch off to the markets at Grimsby, Aberdeen, Glasgow,[99] and Newhaven.[100]

All accounts of these trawler voyages describe an always arduous, and usually very dangerous, time. The onboard condition of the trawlers was deplorable; they were completely unsanitary, stinky, and crowded.[101] While sharing about their years at sea, Jock Robb and his friend Ian Smith said it was impossible to "even describe how hard it was," referring to the grueling working conditions.[102] The men worked three watches: three hours on, five hours off. They were always on the lookout for fish, and when the fish showed up, it was "all hands-on deck." The sporadic nature of the work, and the fact

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[95] Kitty Banyards and Esther Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, Newhaven, November 1993.

[96] "Night with the Ring-Netters", *Edinburgh Evening News*, January 2, 1937.

[97] An immature cod.

[98] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.

[99] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 47.

[100] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," *Edinburgh Evening News*, December 16, 1939, 3.

[101] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 123.

[102] Willie Flucker, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 21, 2014.

that the net came up every three hours, created random sleeping times for the crew, rare chances to bathe, and meals whenever they could eat them. It was possible to go an entire day without being able to get any sleep.[103] In other words, pure exhaustion consumed the men as the voyage progressed.[104]

Constant fatigue increased the fishermen's biggest fears: being washed overboard,[105] getting caught in a sudden storm, and finding a leak on the ship.[106] Due to the rocking of the ship, sometimes a part of the trawler would strike a man when the boat shifted in the water, knocking him over or even unconscious. If the ship lurched and a wave came over the deck, the man could be washed overboard before any of his crewmates could grab him. Jock and Ian mentioned seeing a leak one day and their skipper telling the crew, "We'll do one more hour, then fix it…" while the rest of the crew nervously watched water pouring into the ship the whole time.[107] With six men down in one foxhole for 12 days on the open seas,[108] and the imminent danger of drowning or illness looming over every part of the voyage, we can understand why Jim Todd, another lifelong trawlerman, said, "It wasn't a life. It was just an existence."[109]

Competition with other trawler crews also influenced the fishermen. Fishing, by its very nature, created financial uncertainty. Jock Robb described the strong pressure the trawler owners put on their skippers, saying, "If you had one bad trip as a skipper, you didn't get a second. Out![110]… you're only as good as your last trip."[111] Once a crew

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[103] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 20.
[104] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 158-59.
[105] Ibid., 160.
[106] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 49.
[107] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[108] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[109] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 51.
[110] By "Out!", Jock meant that the skipper just lost his job."
[111] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 50.

spotted a school of fish, then they would haul the fish in as quickly as possible without drawing attention to themselves. This dynamic was especially important when using the radio. Skippers rarely shared information that would help another ship get a good catch. If a storm was coming and the crew knew there were other trawlers in the vicinity, the skipper would send out a warning call on the radio to any nearby ships. Otherwise, the radio was used for emergencies and communicating with the mainland only.[112]

There were some lighter moments on the trawlers, though. Jock, Ian, and their friend John Stephenson, another lifelong fisherman, shared that fishermen usually developed a strong community amongst themselves. Fishing became a site of belonging were Newhaven's men grew in fishing expertise, practiced their craft, and earned one another's respect, all with no women present. Not all men on every crew liked each other or even got along well; fights broke out on ships. But eventually, they had to learn to work together because their lives depended on it.[113]

The skipper sat atop the social hierarchy of the boat, firmly in charge and determined to catch as many fish as possible while returning with all of his crewmen.[114] A good skipper also prioritized finding time for his crew to rest and relax. Mealtime facilitated these happier times. The men were "well-fed," and they used lunch or supper to share stories and learn about various topics, such as fishing best practices, politics, and history.[115] In the face of constant danger, many of the men would pray or read from the Bible, sharing their Christian faith and asking God to protect them on the open waters.[116]

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[112] Ibid., 48.
[113] Flucker et al, interview with author, Newhaven, May 21, 2014.
[114] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 42.
[115] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 50.
[116] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 158.

The men would also tell stories and jokes. Finally, it was not uncommon for the trawler crews to see the Northern Lights; Jock, Ian, and John all saw them repeatedly when they were north of the Shetland Islands.[117]

It is not surprising that the fishermen who worked the trawlers greatly valued their two days off between trips. Once all of the fish they brought in was sold at the market, the skipper paid the crew, usually around 12:00 p.m.[118] The more experience and seniority a crewman had, the higher the wage he received.[119] Then the men had 48 hours to do whatever they wanted. This down time included sleeping a lot, taking a shower, time with the family, getting drinks at the pub, collecting on bets they made before they set out 10-12 days prior,[120] catching up on the news, going to a soccer match, and going to church.[121] Betty Hepburn said that her father always came home "really, really tired," so he would spend his two days resting, as well as repairing things around the house, like doors, windows, and their shoes.[122] Some fishermen gave their earnings to their wives, got pocket money, and then went straight to the pubs.[123] Others were not so wise.

Ian Smith and his retired fishermen friends laughed at the way some men took their wages and lived as "king for a day," spending all of their earnings immediately on food and drink at the pub. These men were usually followed around by their wives, who tried to take any unspent monies away before the funds disappeared.[124] Many of Newhaven's men struggled with alcoholism throughout their lives. Cathy Lighterness

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[117] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[118] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth: My Story of a Living Village* (Millom: Regentlane Publishing, 1998), 2.
[119] Edwards et al, interview with author, Newhaven Parish Church, May 22, 2014.
[120] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 49.
[121] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 159.
[122] Betty Hepburn and Joan Williamson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, 1993.
[123] Brace, interview with author, Museum of Edinburgh, May 20, 2014.
[124] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

remembered her father always being away at sea, except for his two days off between trips. This was the only holiday the trawler life allowed,[125] because being ashore meant you were not bringing in any income, and if you got sick or had injuries like blisters on your hands that kept you from returning to sea, your job was in jeopardy.[126]

With such terrible conditions, many would ask, why would anyone want to work on a trawler? The universal answer from the Newhaveners was simple: it paid well, and unlike fishing on the yawls, and it allowed them to use their generational expertise. As Margaret Campbell said, and several of the Newhaveners repeated in their own way, "fishing was in the blood… it was the only life we knew."[127] James Watson, who worked as a Newhaven fish salesman, described it by quoting his father, who "was on the trawlers, and he would'nae let me go near them – said it was 'nae a life for a dog, let alone a human being. But there was money in it."[128] Jock Robb agreed with James Watson, saying "they didn't know anything else," otherwise they probably would have gone into other professions.[129]

While only skippers and trawler or yawl owners were seen by the villagers as being wealthy, Tom McGowran's comparison of the average pay for Leith, Newhaven, and Granton fishermen in the 1928 period showed that, on the whole, Newhaveners enjoyed a higher wage than their Leith or Granton counterparts.[130] The villagers believed this was due to their reputation as being the best fishermen on the Forth. Whatever the reason, the Newhaveners were poor, but not very poor. McGowran argued that "there

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[125] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[126] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.
[127] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[128] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 158.
[129] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[130] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 160.

was always a little bit to spare," especially to help a family member or neighbor in need.[131]

Transitioning From Yawls to Trawlers

The transition from "independent inshore fishing to wage-earning trawling" did not happen smoothly.[132] There is no record of the first trawler to appear in Newhaven, a reflection of the often-poor record keeping at Newhaven Harbor,[133] but the Society of Free Fishermen's records indicate that by 1880, Newhaven's fishermen were very concerned about the ability of their inshore yawls to compete with this "new type of ship" (the trawlers) that was increasingly fishing on the Firth of Forth.[134] Steam power began to replace wind power on the Forth, dramatically altering fishermen's traditional routines.[135] Trawler companies based their fleets in Granton or Leith because Newhaven's tidal harbor was too small for the larger, more technologically-advanced steam-powered trawlers.[136] The first motor fishing boat, called the *Guide Me* and powered by paraffin oil, came to Newhaven harbor in 1907 when a local Newhaven fisherman, James Inglis, bought one,[137] showing that change was inevitable and the village had to keep up with the times.[138] It was not as big as a trawler, but it gave the yawl owners an opportunity to compete against the trawlers.

Throughout the next two decades, Newhaven's fleet transitioned over to paraffin oil-powered motors to move their ships around the Forth. While this new technology

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[131] Ibid., 159.
[132] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 109.
[133] Willie Flucker, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, June 6, 2014.
[134] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 54.
[135] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 162.
[136] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.
[137] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 157.
[138] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."

helped strengthen the Newhaven fleet's ability to compete, it did not reduce the flow of fishermen over to the trawling industry. By 1930, inshore yawls fishing boats in Newhaven and across Great Britain were going out of business because they could no longer compete with the larger, more industrialized and technologically-advanced trawler companies.[139] The allure of a higher, more predictable wage from trawler work created an identity crisis within the village that persisted after the trawler's introduction into the Firth of Forth fishing world. Trawlers paid more, but they threatened Newhaven's traditional yawl-fishing industry. Going to work on a trawler was seen by some families as betraying the village, while others saw it was simply trying to survive in a changing world.[140] John Wilson, who spent his life fishing, said, "What really hammered Newhaven… everybody got into the trawlers where they could get a steady wage," and this fundamentally changed their traditional way of providing for themselves through inshore fishing.[141]

The trawlers also increased class division among the fishermen because it replaced the share system with corporate ownership and wage earning, widening the divide between owner, skipper, and crew.[142] Due to the mechanical parts and expertise required to build a trawler, trawlers were much more expensive than the inshore yawls the Newhaveners built in Fisherman's Park. Trawlers could not be built within the village, so if a family was able to raise or borrow enough money to purchase a new trawler, they had to buy it from ship-building companies in the surrounding villages,

[139] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 7.
[140] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[141] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 161.
[142] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 19.

usually Port Seton, Leith, or Granton.[143] The high cost of trawlers, and the fact that the inshore yawl fishermen lacked the expertise necessary to run a trawler, led to an increasing number of Newhaven fishermen leaving the family-owned yawl industry in order to work on company-owned trawlers.[144] Most of the trawlers were owned by men outside of Newhaven that the village's families did not know.[145]

The wage system separated the skippers from their crews in a way unfamiliar to the Newhaven fishermen. Owners insisted on a strict hierarchy and division of labor among the crew. While the inshore yawls also had a command structure, everyone pitched in when a need arose on the ship. This was not the case on the trawlers. The skippers became the bridge between the trawler owners and their crews. According to Paul Thompson's research, trawler owners in the first half of the twentieth century thought a larger gulf between the captain and his mates would result in harder working crews and larger profits at the end of each voyage. The owners also greatly increased the salaries of their trawler skippers, further increasing class division among the fishermen.[146]

When the share system ended and the men began to transition over to the trawlers, Newhaven fishermen who had owned their own ships and ran their own businesses found themselves working for corporate owners outside the village; they had been reduced to wage-earner or day laborer, the lowest rung of Newhaven's social hierarchy.[147] Jock Robb, Ian Smith, John Stephenson, and Willie Flucker remembered only a handful of

[143] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 25.
[144] Cathy Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 13, 1994.
[145] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 18.
[146] Ibid., 18-19.
[147] Ibid., 362.

local Newhaveners who were able to afford any of the "new, modern trawlers." William Liston and "Old Man" Carney were Newhavener locals who built trawler fleets over the years and transitioned away from inshore yawls.[148] Leaving the inshore yawl fishing profession for more technologically-advanced trawlers represented the end of a long political struggle by Newhaven's fisher families to stop the influence of the trawlers from fundamentally altering their ancient way of life.

Appeal to Parliament to Stop Trawling

The Society of Free Fishermen's records tell the story of how fishermen around the Firth of Forth rallied to stop the trawlers from operating in their fishing waters. Throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century, great anxiety abounded among the Forth's fishing villages over the appearance of trawling, and Newhaven served as the center rallying against it.[149] In 1880, 190 Newhaven fishermen signed and circulated a petition asking the leaders of all the Firth of Forth communities to ban trawlers from operating in their harbors. Lord Elcho, a Scottish Conservative MP, presented the petition to Parliament to no avail: the British government simply had no objections at that time to the trawlers operating in Scottish waters, and it rejected the petition. Three years later, after a large increase in the number of trawlers in a short time, concerned line fishermen from communities along the Scottish East Coast held town meetings discussing a way forward, eventually leading to a united movement with representatives from all towns. In February, fishing representatives from the East Coast passed a resolution petitioning Parliament to limit the areas where trawlers were allowed to operate, thus protecting traditional line fishing areas, but on May 1, Parliament

[148] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[149] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 161-2.

responded again by refusing the fishermen's demands. This second rejection angered the fishermen so much that they determined to send a delegation directly to Parliament and petition the MP's themselves.

On May 22, 1883, at a meeting in London with 16 MP's, 16 fishermen, and Board of Trade President Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Grant, the MP for Leith, made an impassioned speech supporting the petition. Mr. Chamberlain promised to open an inquiry into the line fishermen's concerns. On December 5-6 of that year, the Board held an inquiry at the Royal Commission Council Chambers exploring the issue. There was no decision from the inquiry for over one and a half years, until May 5, 1885, when the Royal Commission issued its official report generally ruling in favor of the line fishermen's requests. To the great joy of the Forth's fishing villagers, the Report agreed to most terms except explicitly banning the use of trawlers; this included new enforcement powers for the Admiralty to police Scottish coastal waters. A year later, the Board of Fisheries issued a by-law, agreed to by the Scottish Secretary of State, banning the use of trawlers in the Firth of Forth, St. Andrews Bay, and Aberdeen Bay. It seemed like the fishermen had preserved their traditional way of fishing, but over the next decade, pressure from the trawler industry, and a desire to provide cheaper sources of food for the public by parliamentary leaders, led to the overturning of these protections in Parliament by 1900.[150]

The Newhaveners used every pathway to resistance in their power to stop the trawler industry, but in the end, it won. The presence of trawlers in the Firth of Forth would fundamentally alter Newhaven's fishing industry; Newhaven's fisher families

[150] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen*, 54.

would have to begin making major changes to their traditional fishing operations. In less than half a century, the trawlers would severely overfish the Forth, contributing to Newhaven's decline as a fishing village. The governing authorities had not protected Newhaven's best interests when the trawlers first appeared, and these same authorities would not intervene when a future generation of Newhaveners would ask them for help. It was a pattern the Newhaveners became very familiar with over time.

## II. Fisher People

### Fisher Men

John Buchan said that a fisherman's world was "both merry and melancholy."[151] In a village where "fishing was in the blood," knowing how to fish or how to do those jobs that supported fishing were crucial to survival and greatly determined one's self-worth.[152] In fact, even today, the older generation of Newhaveners interviewed for this dissertation exhibited a subtle, unspoken caste system, where those who stayed in fishing remain the most respected, while those who left fishing seemed almost apologetic about leaving their ancient profession behind. One facet that united all of them, though, was that in the Newhaven of old, "everybody worked," including all members of the family, due to the poverty they shared. Jane Nadel-Klein's research among several of Scotland's northern fishing villages proved that the central value shared among all of them was the community emphasis on hard work,[153] and this work gave the villagers both joy, from their successes, and sadness, from fishing's great dangers.[154]

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[151] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 31.

[152] Poster Board of Newhaven Quotes, Newhaven Heritage Museum Storage Materials, Edinburgh Collections Center, May 20, 2014.

[153] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 7.

[154] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

Newhaven men defined a large part of their identity through their work. Interviews with Jock Robb, Ian Smith, John Stephenson, Willie Flucker, James Watson, John Liston, and Magnus Flucker, all professional fishermen (except for Willie Flucker), revealed three main traits central to fishermen from Newhaven. First, a man worked hard, and the risk of drowning at sea or dying from an injury or an infection came with the job. Second, he had to be resourceful; this is why Newhaven men worked on any type of sea vessel they could in order to provide for their families, whether it was fishing for herring, dredging for oysters, or (by the 1970s) drilling for oil.[155] Finally, he served as a protector of his family, himself, and his village and its ancient way-of-life. These three virtues explain why Newhaven fathers were so determined to pass their fishing expertise on to their sons: they ensured that the men of Newhaven would be able to provide for future generations while preserving Newhaven's traditions.[156] Newhaven men were very proud to be fishermen, and they usually commanded the respect of those around them for defying the odds of surviving their trips out to sea.

Not surprisingly, the Newhaven fishermen's daily routine reflected the many ways they tried to limit the great danger they faced. It was hard to stay warm and dry on open waters, so their clothes were meant to help protect them from the elements. They wore thick wool jumpers with polo necks called "barkit-jumpers" because the women who made them treated the wool with a mixture of oak bark and other materials to help water-proof the jerseys. Their pants were dark oilskin trousers.[157] Underneath, the men wore a long-john undershirt and long stockings that warmed their legs under their hand-

[155] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[156] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[157] Frances Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, December 7, 1993.

sown, knee-high leather sea boots.[158] The boots required constant applications of cod liver oil to keep them soft due to the salt water's hardening effect on them. The boots added their own element of danger to a fisherman's work: if he fell overboard and could not get his boots off in time, he would drown due to not being able to swim. The men also covered their clothes with linseed oil to help make them more water resistant, giving the clothes a yellow tint.[159]

Visitors to Newhaven were known to have commented on the physical appearance of the villagers, both the men and the women. In 1845, a Scottish government official conducting a census described the men of Newhaven as looking "muscular, healthy, and active" while being known for their "industrious habits" and frugality.[160] When an outsider named George Blake toured Newhaven in 1936, he described a scene where the fishermen got off their ships in the harbor, received their wages from their skippers, and then walked around the village shopping for things in their long white rubber boots and multi-colored berets, a "commonplace reality" in Newhaven at that time.[161] Other phrases during this period used to describe Newhaven's fishermen included "these hardy fishermen"[162] and "their rugged characters,"[163] both referring to the hardships of living the sea-faring life.

Even more recently, a local author opened his 2007 article with the words: "In creaking boats on storm-lashed seas, with calloused hands, weather-beaten faces and lion

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[158] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 22.
[159] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.
[160] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 32.
[161] Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know."
[162] "Night with the Ring-Netters."
[163] K. Robertson, "Discontent Among N Fishers: Poor Prices Driving More to Land," *Edinburgh Pictorial*, September 11, 1953, 4.

hearts, Lothian's[164] fishermen risked their lives for the contents of their nets," joining in the general respect for the fishermen's hard work.[165] All of the interviewees and authors used in this dissertation who discussed Newhaven's fishermen shared a universal respect for the fishing profession, although most agreed they would not want to be a part of it, including today's Newhavener descendants.

Based on the daily lived experience of Newhaven's fishermen, the masculinity they participated in by 1928 differed from their fellow Scottish men. Newhavener men worked hard, put their lives in danger to provide for their families by catching fish, and shared responsibility for paying bills by partnering with their wives to sell fish. While they were away, they had to trust their wives to make important family decisions, including financial ones. Before the twentieth century, this partnership of equals drew the scorn of outsiders who saw it as offensive for men to not be the master of their own home.[166] According to the Newhaveners, the men were the head of the household; they just happened to let their wives make all of the decisions in their absence, which was most of the time.

Fisher Women

As impressed as many were with the men of Newhaven, it was their wives who captured the imagination of people outside the village.[167] The fisher women of Newhaven, who were more commonly known as Newhaven's "fishwives" due to the fact

[164] Lothian is the name of the region Newhaven is in. Generally, it refers to an area of the Scottish Lowlands along the Firth of Forth.

[165] Sandra Dick, "Catching Up on the Great Age of Fishing," *Evening News*, January 13, 2007, 6.

[166] John Tosh, "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England," *Gender and History* 8/1 (1996): 51.

[167] Please see Appendix C for pictures of the fishwives.

that most of them sold fish door-to-door in Edinburgh in the years leading up to 1928,[168] were the face of the village to the outside world.[169] If outsiders had heard of Newhaven, it was probably because they had heard or read about the fishwives' grueling work selling fish door-to-door around Edinburgh; it was also possible they had heard one of their songs from one of Newhaven's internationally-acclaimed fisherwomen's choirs.[170]

For those living in the City of Edinburgh, it was common to see a fishwife in the city streets, hear her broadcasting fish for sale by calling out "Caller Herrin'," or even buy fish from a fishwife at the front door.[171] This explains why Newhaven Heritage[172] described the fishwives as being "instantly recognizable" around Edinburgh,[173] or why a variety of media accounts describe them as being an "iconic" part of Edinburgh daily life.[174] However people interacted with Newhaven fishwives over the centuries, the fisher women of Newhaven made the village famous and gave the fishing way-of-life a form of popularity unseen in other fishing villages across Britain due to the challenging nature of the women's work, the costumes worn while working, and the power gained by bringing income into the household.[175]

With many of their husbands away for 10-12 days at a time, the fishwives of Newhaven took on the burden of both selling the fish that came into Newhaven harbor

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[168] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 4.

[169] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."

[170] A thorough review of these choirs will be taken in Chapter 3, which focuses on Newhaven's culture, customs, and traditions.

[171] A.M.M., "No Eight-Hour Day for the Fisherwife," *Edinburgh Evening News*, July 9, 1947.

[172] The Newhaven Heritage Association, formerly known as the Newhaven Action Group, is a local organization dedicated to opening a historical center about Newhaven's past in Newhaven.

[173] Newhaven Action Group, *Newhaven: A Centre for Heritage* (Edinburgh: Newhaven Heritage, 2012), 3.

[174] "Newhaven Fisherwomen's Choir," *Newhaven Press Cuttings* (Edinburgh Room: Edinburgh Central Library, 2014), 68.

[175] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 91.

and caring for their families, as well as maintaining the overall upkeep of the village.[176] Generally speaking, the fishwives sold fish Tuesdays and Thursdays through Saturdays every week, with Mondays and Wednesdays off for paying bills and doing housework.[177] They also used Mondays and Wednesdays to harvest bait and repair the fishing nets. In keeping with Christian tradition, Sundays were their day of rest.[178]

While there were hundreds of fishwives to have lived over the years, each with their own contexts, responsibilities and schedules, dozens of their stories were documented over the years by the Edinburgh media, and more recently, a team from the Museum of Edinburgh in the 1990s. Because of this work, we have a good understanding about their daily routines. In a typical routine, a fishwife would get out of bed around 5:00 a.m.,[179] then begin her work day between 6:00 and 7:30 a.m. at the Newhaven Fishmarket with a process called "kyling."[180] Kyling was the system created by the fishwives for fairly dividing up fish before they set out on their selling routes.[181] Working in groups of four to six women, often women from within their extended family or household street, the fishwives would pool their money and then collectively buy a box of fish from a fish monger at the Fishmarket. The women would divide the box of fish up into a number of piles that equaled the number of women in their group, then ask a passerby to randomly place a token belonging to each fishwife on a pile, ensuring fairness and equal distribution of the fish.[182] The women would then take the pile designated for them by their token and walk over to the slip to gut and wash the fish,

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[176] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 27.
[177] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 55.
[178] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 25.
[179] Stephen Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk," *Evening News*, April 16, 1994.
[180] A.M.M., "No Eight-Hour Day for the Fisherwife."
[181] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 53.
[182] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 38.

leaving the heads on because the heads held the body together while the fishwife filleted the fish in front of the buying customer.[183] Finally, the fishwife would load the fish into her creel.

A creel was a large wicker basket capable of being loaded onto a person's back. Creels were very heavy, so much so that their weight often surprised men who would attempt to pick them up and help the fishwives load them onto their backs.[184] While the weight of a creel completely filled with fish varied based on a fishwife's physical strength, they weighed 112 pounds on average, with 80 to 120 pounds being the general range.[185] To help the women carry this load, each creel came with a white leather strap or band that they placed around their foreheads, helping them lean forward to take some of the immense weight off of their backs.[186] It was exhausting work. Years of carrying these heavy loads of fish made the Newhaven fishwives physically strong, lean, and tough.[187] Once a fishwife loaded her creel onto her back, she would leave the Fishmarket to begin selling her fish door-to-door; in the words of Maidie King, a Newhaven fishwife, walking "every foot of the road" until she finished her route.[188]

Every fishwife had a designated route that she alone worked. The process for laying out which streets and homes belonged to an individual fishwife occurred organically over time, with city districts and neighborhoods generally belonging to certain families that mothers passed down to their daughters.[189] Because the fishwives worked specific routes, there was no rivalry between the fishwives, or if there was, there

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[183] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 53.
[184] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 44-45.
[185] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 36.
[186] Eunice G. Murray, *Scottish Homespun* (London/Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1947), 82.
[187] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 1.
[188] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 36.
[189] A.M.M., "No Eight-Hour Day for the Fisherwife."

is no record of it in the interviews with the Newhaveners or in the local media accounts. In fact, according to Newhaven fishwife Frances Milligan, the fishwives supported one another. They did not jealously guard their customers from other fishwives, and sometimes the Newhavener women would share their routes to help a friend in need.

Even though the fishwives enjoyed a general sense of cooperation, selling fish was still competitive. This was due to the level of service their customers expected; the women needed to be quick, dependable, and fair in their pricing in order to compete. It was not uncommon for younger fisher women to ask older fishwives for advice on which areas of the city were worth patrolling, and the elder fishwives would give their advice on the matter. This could even lead to new routes being created; new or younger fishwives would knock on doors and ask the homeowners if they would like buy fresh fish at their doorstep throughout the week.[190]

A fishwife had regular customers. They were women she called "her ladies"[191] who expected her to knock on their doors on the same day each week.[192] She used a different route for every day, and the route usually followed the same pattern.[193] The fishwife would load up her creel onto her back at Newhaven Fishmarket, then head out into the city on foot. For routes further away, the fishwives would take the train or a tram[194] into Edinburgh, which they referred to as "going to the county."[195] Using mass transit created a socially awkward situation because the creels reeked of fish, so the fishwives frequently faced the resentment of the other riders due to their strong smell.[196]

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[190] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, December 7, 1993.
[191] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[192] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[193] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 54.
[194] Edinburgh's old electric cable car mass transit system.
[195] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[196] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 54.

Frances Milligan said that she always put her creel right by the tram driver, asking him to guard it for her until her stop.[197] Once she arrived at her stop, the fishwife would load her creel on her back again and begin walking door-to-door selling her fish. In between homes, she would yell "Caller Herrin'" on the chance that anyone walking by might want to purchase some fish. Rena Barnes and several others interviewed about the fishwives asserted that the fishwives knitted during their routes, probably while they sat on the trams. This was multitasking, for sure.

The point of a fishwife coming to a customers' doors was to give them a chance to buy fresh fish, and that is what a fishwife's "ladies" expected.[198] Adding to the convenience of this service, the fishwife would also fillet the fish for her buyer. All fishwives included a filleting knife and cutting board in their creels so that they could fillet the fish for each of their customers right in front of them; this was seen as a crucial part of the service of buying from a fishwife.[199] If it was raining, sometimes the buyer would let the fishwife come into the kitchen to fillet the fish there.[200] If the buyer was kind enough, coming indoors might have given the fishwife a moment to sit down and rest before heading right out into the street again.

The work was grueling. While walking the streets carrying the creel made the Newhaven women strong, it also took a toll on their bodies. Newhavener Elsie Turney's mother, Lizzie Liston, worked as a fishwife her entire life, and by the time she was middle-aged, she suffered from bad neck and shoulder aches, spending her last years as an invalid in bed due to the rheumatism in her legs caused by all those "wet petticoats."

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[197] Frances Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, November 18, 1993.
[198] Mary Kay and Mina Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 17, 1994.
[199] Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk."
[200] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.

Elsie described it as "a hard life, wet and cold."[201] Esther Liston said that she and her family encouraged her grandmother to stop selling fish for years, but Esther's grandmother refused due to pride until she was no longer physically capable of walking the streets carrying the creel.[202] Some women did not experience the debilitating effects as badly as others, though this was probably due to not working as a fishwife for very long. Frances Milligan walked the streets for eight years but saw no lasting physical damage to her body as she aged. In fact, she always said that it was a "very healthy life" due to all of the good daily exercise the fishwives got through their work.[203]

The actual stories of three of the Newhaven fishwives, Maggie Noble, Nellie White, and Frances Milligan, further illuminating the fishwife work experience. Rena Barnes's mother, Maggie Noble,[204] endured the tragedy all Newhaven women dreaded the most: in 1933, her husband died due to an illness he contracted in South Africa on a fishing trip, leaving her with four children under the age of 10. Like so many other Newhaven women, she began working three jobs to help pay the bills: one selling fish on the streets and two gigs cleaning for families in the adjacent neighborhood of Trinity. Her fishwife route included 16 miles, starting with a doctor on Juniper Green by the Babberton Golf Course, on to several Lanark Road homes with a few more at Babberton Avenue; and then ending with three homes in Currie. She described her work to others as a "fish business; she wasn't just a fishwife."[205] Despite having five mouths to feed,

[201] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 38.
[202] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[203] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[204] Rena Barnes, interview with Jane George, Newhaven, March 10, 1994.
[205] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 220.

Maggie's success led to the family being able to eventually purchase their own house and buy a piano, an achievement that instilled great pride in Maggie for the rest of her life.[206]

Nellie White was born in 1896 and worked a route much further away from Newhaven than her counterparts. She would take the tram from Newhaven to Waverly Station, then take a train to Falkirk, a village 28 miles outside of Edinburgh. Nellie preferred going so far away because it eliminated possible competition with other fishwives.[207] By the time Nellie got home around 5:30 p.m., she had worked an 11-hour day. She did this specific route for 15 years, then had to stop selling fish after being hit by a tram and finding herself unable to walk for more than two years.[208]

When Nicola Colgan interviewed Frances Milligan in 1993 for the Newhaven Heritage Museum, Frances was the last living fishwife.[209] Born in 1908, Frances left school at age 14,[210] saying that she dropped out "on a Friday and took up the creel on Tuesday" for a route she inherited from her family. Her mother made her leave school to start selling because Frances's older sister had just gotten married, and the family needed someone to take her place and preserve that weekly income.[211] Frances would walk up to Seafield Cemetery, then continue on along the Links stopping at the homes of "her ladies."[212] After that, she would go to several houses on Rentaling Road and Blackie Road before finishing at East Rentaling Road.[213] Frances walked home having completed a five-mile roundtrip back to Newhaven and having worked about eight

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[206] Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.
[207] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 37.
[208] Roland Mann, "A Community That Won't Die," *Evening News*, March 29, 1985.
[209] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[210] Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk."
[211] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 53.
[212] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 39.
[213] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.

hours.[214] Frances stopped selling at age 22 when she married her husband, a man who had grown up and lived next door to her family for her entire life.[215]

Upon returning to Newhaven, Maggie, Nellie, and Frances all went down to the Fishmarket, sold their extra fish if they could, put any spare fish in a separate basket to take home, and then washed their creels in the cleaning troughs provided for washing the market's fish boxes.[216] After describing a typical fishwife's day, it is not surprising that Newhavener George Liston, who worked as a fisherman his entire life, said that the men worked hard, but the women worked even harder.[217] They did all of this hard work in their distinctive Newhaven fishwife costumes.

The "Yellow Butterflies"[218]

In addition to yelling "Caller Herrin'" or carrying a creel filled with fish around Edinburgh, Newhaven women wore a unique outfit that distinguished them from fisher women from other Forth fishing villages and communicated to onlookers that they were fishwives in the business of selling fish door-to-door.[219] There were two sets of the fishwife costume, the full decorative set worn for general use or special occasions, and the navy-blue costume usually worn while working.[220] While this costume developed over time, it had taken its final form by the mid-nineteenth century at the latest, for all of the accounts since then describe the same costume. A writer for F.H. Groom's *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* visited Newhaven in 1884 and described the Newhaven women as follows:

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[214] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 54.
[215] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 18.
[218] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 22.
[219] "Fishy Tale of Tea Leaves," *Evening News*, August 14, 1999.
[220] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.

> "On their heads they wear caps of Dutch or Flemish origin, with a broader lace border, stiffened and arched over the forehead, about three inches high, leaving the brow and cheeks unencumbered. They have cotton jackets, bright red and yellow, mixed in patterns, confined at the waist by the apron-strings, but bob-tailed below the waist; short woolen petticoats with broad vertical stripes, red and white most vivid in color, worsted stockings, and neat though high-quartered shoes. Under their jackets they wear a thick-spotted cotton handkerchief about one inch of which is visible round the lower part of the throat. Of their petticoats, the outer one is kilted, or gathered up towards the front, and the second, of the same colour, hangs in an unusual way. Their short petticoats reveal a neat ankle, and a leg with a noble swell; for Nature, when she is in earnest, builds beauty on the ideas of ancient sculptors and poets, not of modern poetasters, who with their airy-like sylphs and their smoke-like verses fight for want of flesh in women and want of fact in poetry as parallel beauties. These women have a grand corporeal trait: they have never known a corset! So they are as straight as javelins; they can lift their hands above their heads! Their supple persons move as Nature intended; every gesture is ease, grace, and freedom."[221]

As this overview lays out, the main pieces of the traditional fishwife costume were their cotton jackets, short woolen petticoats with large vertical red and white stripes, white stockings, black high-quartered shoes, and Paisley shawls,[222] leading one writer to refer to them as "ken-speckle figures."[223] Taken together, these various clothing items created the decorative costume associated with the Newhaven fishwives.

Working with fish while walking up and down cobbled streets does not lend itself to wearing fancy clothes, so as expected, fishwives had another similar costume that they wore while working. This more practical version of the fishwife costume came entirely in navy blue, a favorite Newhaven color due to working by the sea and the predominant blue eyes of the villagers. The "work gown,"[224] as the villagers called it, included "a floral patterned 'shor'goon' (short gown or blouse), a heavy navy serge (wool) skirt, a navy and white striped flannel (wool) apron, a pooch (pocket), a shawl, and a navy serge coat."[225] Rena Barnes described her fishwife mother, Maggie Noble, as having several

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[221] F.H. Groome, "Newhaven," *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1882, 5.
[222] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 23.
[223] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628. "Ken-speckle" means well-recognized.
[224] Margaret McLean, interview with author, Fairmilehead, May 20, 2014.
[225] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 36.

navy blue flannel petticoats with blouses and white cuffs coupled with a blue and white apron and navy blue cape to shield her from the Forth winds. The navy blue outfits were much cheaper to fix or replace and much easier to clean than the fishwives' gala costumes, and the ladies could buy any pieces they needed from local dressmakers in the village.[226] The gala costume required a trip into Leith or Edinburgh to purchase its finer pieces.[227]

Both the gala and working fishwife costumes performed several functions. They attracted the attention of potential buyers in a competitive work environment where a fishwife's word-of-mouth reputation was all she had to advertise. Buyers knew that a fishwife with a white leather strap across her head (from her creel) came from Newhaven; a woman selling fish with any other color came from somewhere else.[228] The women preferred to use heavy cloth in their costumes' materials, wearing them all year round, even in hot temperatures or bad weather, to protect their backs from the creel. The blouses also contained tucks for inserting their hands for warmth and pleats along the back to help them carry the intense weight of the creel. The fishwives themselves described their costumes as being "practical yet comfortable," especially during the colder months.[229] The one major downside to the heavy material: if it got wet, it took a long time to dry, and the extra weight of the water, as well as the rubbing against the skin, made the job even more difficult.[230]

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[226] Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.
[227] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[228] Hugo Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them," *Scottish Daily Mail*, September 29, 1950.
[229] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[230] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

The writer in the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* referred to the Flemish origin of the fishwives' costumes. We know that they wore amalgams of the outfits worn by the wives of the Flemish shipbuilders who worked on the *Great Michael* centuries before, making them practical and comfortable over time as their work required.[231] Specifically, the red and yellow stripe patterns were reminiscent of Flemish clothing, distinctly foreign and unlike the Scottish tartan patterns that predominated Scottish clothing styles.[232] This foreign touch made them stand out in a crowd, especially walking the streets of Edinburgh. When Eunice Murray visited Edinburgh in 1946 on a fact-finding tour for her book *Scottish Homespun*, which she published a year later, she encountered several Newhaven fishwives walking the streets, and described the "yellow butterflies" by saying that they were "fine, honest women who in a drab world do much with their distinctive costume to make it more interesting and picturesque."[233]

All but one of the women I personally interviewed for this dissertation owned a gala costume, and several had a working outfit as well. The women felt great pride at owning their mother's or grandmother's fishwife costume, and they loved wearing them, especially on Gala Day, because it was a "traditional thing" that helped them celebrate their heritage.[234] They also took great pride in the fact that their fishwife ancestors enjoyed a great deal more freedom and authority in Newhaven than their female counterparts in other places around Britain.

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[231] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[232] H.M., "Our Lady's Port of Grace," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 4, 1950.
[233] Murray, *Scottish Homespun*, 83.
[234] Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

"Them That Sells the Goods Guide the Purse – Them That Guide the Purse Rule the House"[235]

In Sir Walter Scott's *The Antiquary*, an elderly fishwife grandmother named Luckie Mucklebackit tells her grandson's girlfriend some hard truths about life in her fishing village, namely that "fishwives ken better – they keep the man, and keep the purse, and keep the siller too… Them that sells the goods guide the purse – them that guide the purse rule the house."[236] Scott, a Scottish novelist, was referring to the power structure between the men and women of Newhaven that came about as a direct result of the fisher women's work selling fish door-to-door and the funds they managed from these transactions. Indeed, the Scottish government first took note of this phenomenon during its 1793 census, the *1st Statistical Account of Scotland*. The writer mentioned with concern that the women of Lothian (Newhaven's county) bore a much larger share of responsibility in the running of the family than other Scottish women, even to the point that a fishwife "considers herself the head of the house" because she "do[es] the work of men." He also described their "masculine… manners and strength" and ability to run their businesses like any man would.[237] In an "intensely patriarchal society such as Scotland,"[238] the Newhaven fishwife's power was truly an "anomaly" that attracted a lot of attention from non-Newhaveners.[239]

Since their husbands, fathers, and brothers were out at sea for most of the week, and the money from selling fish was in their pockets, the women of Newhaven exercised

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[235] Walter Scott, *The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Vol. 1*. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1827), 393.
[236] Ibid.
[237] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 25.
[238] McIvor, "Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland," 138.
[239] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 54

influence and authority over many more aspects of daily life than their contemporaries.[240] With no record of any men selling fish door-to-door (i.e. fish-husbands),[241] the gendered order of the village was quite simple: the men caught the fish and the women sold it,[242] thereby creating a strict division of labor between two spheres.[243] As the first part of this chapter discussed, the women also cleaned the lines, baited them, and put hooks on them; then they prepared the fish for selling, sold the fish, and handled the money from it. The women of Newhaven were saleswomen, accountants, housekeepers, and the custodians of their families.[244] This was a tremendous amount of responsibility outside of the traditional home sphere, yet the men of Newhaven depended on their wives to do all this work. It explains the popular, but not quite accurate, use of the word "matriarchy" to describe Newhaven throughout its history by outsiders looking in.[245]

The opinion of today's Newhaveners, as well as the local historians interviewed for this dissertation, is that many of the fishwives were very clever with their money, and many of their husbands were not. In fact, all of the interviewees spoke positively about the power and authority Newhaven's fishwives enjoyed over the years. It was source of great pride that Newhaveners empowered their women generations before the modern era. Unlike those husbands who wasted their money on alcohol and gambling by living as "king for a day" after getting paid for a trip to sea, the fishwives saved their pounds and used them to purchase things the family needed, even buying themselves a "room and kitchen" (a Newhaven house).[246] Margaret McLean said that the fishwives she knew

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[240] Peter Anson, *Fisher Folk-Lore* (London: The Faith Press, 1965), 27.
[241] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[242] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[243] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 173.
[244] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.
[245] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 177.
[246] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

kept any money they earned from selling fish; it was theirs.[247] Several other Newhaveners and outside observers shared this same view. They also mentioned that if a fishwife's husband died, it was not uncommon for the widow to continue his fishing business, running it herself.[248] Her work selling the fish and helping her husband with all of the land-based responsibilities prepared her for the new role. When the Newhaven Heritage Museum interviewed Newhavener George Liston in 1998 about his life, he proudly summed up the Newhaven power dynamic succinctly, saying, "they [the fishwives] really were the matriarchs of the society in Newhaven."[249]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women's work tended to be more "hidden," contributing to the family economy in ways less apparent or public than the men. The fishwives did the very opposite, even to the point of making the village seem matriarchal due to their being in all public spheres and the seeming absence of their husbands from the fishing business.[250] Why was this modicum of freedom possible, or even "allowed," during centuries where women enjoyed less freedom than men? The answer is surprising: the villagers did not consider selling fish door-to-door "going out" to work. The fishwife, as part of her family, was helping put food on the table and pay the bills, just as the rest of the family did to "make ends meet."[251] In fact, they were expected to help, and the nature of their work took them outside of what was considered a normal woman's sphere into Edinburgh's marketplace.[252]

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[247] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[248] Brace, interview with author, Museum of Edinburgh, May 20, 2014.
[249] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 18.
[250] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 51.
[251] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[252] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 167.

With this unusual power dynamic, and the hardships their ancestors faced, it is no wonder the Newhaven women who still own fishwife costumes proudly guard and preserve their fishwife outfits, and they thoroughly enjoy the attention they receive when wearing them. Their experiences in the past decade,[253] as well as the experiences of the Newhaven fisher women over the past five centuries as chronicled through the primary documents examined for this dissertation, demonstrate that the fishwives of Newhaven, through their hard work, unique outfits, and uncommon power relationship with their husbands, achieved at least some degree of renown.

A Cultural Icon

In 2000, a writer for *Scotland's Story* mentioned that the herring fishing industry began in Newhaven in 1793, but it was the fishwives who made the village famous.[254] This echoed the sentiment from another writer two decades earlier in 1981 who called the Newhaven fishwives some of the most famous figures in Edinburgh's history.[255] It is difficult to determine the exact time or moment when the Newhaven fishwives broke into the wider cultural sphere and become a recognizable part of Scotland's culture. There are historical clues, though, that give a general timeframe for the formation of this iconic status. The earliest instance seems to be the 1822 royal visit of King George IV to Edinburgh. For the rest of his life, the king had a fascination with Newhaven's fishwives because of the beauty and work ethic he saw in them during his trip,[256] describing them as being among the "handsomest women" he had ever seen.[257]

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[253] The past decade of their experiences will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3 and Chapter 6.

[254] "Newhaven's Glory Days," *Scotland's Story*, No. 17 (2000),

[255] John Mackay, "Dropping Anchor on the Waterfront," *Evening News*, August 29, 1981.

[256] Bertram, *The Underappreciated Fisher Folk*, 4.

[257] Fraser, "The Spirit of the Newhaven Fishwives."

A second significant event came with the publishing of Sir Walter Scott's *The Antiquary*, written in 1827. Scott loved to visit Newhaven and other fishing villages along the Firth of Forth. In Newhaven, he encountered and observed the fishwives, inspiring him to include a fisher family, the Mucklebackits, in *The Antiquary*. As early as 1827, the fishwives' hard work and the village's seemingly matriarchal structure were unique enough for Scott to highlight in his book.

Queen Victoria visited Edinburgh in 1842. During her visit, she marveled at the Newhaven fishwives and their work ethic. While it is not known how often the queen spoke of the fishwives, she lauded them enough that the Newhaven fishwife became en vogue at court. J. G. Bertram wrote that "the Newhaven fishwife… [was] painted in oil, modeled in card board, made up as a whiskey bottle, given to children as a doll, printed in numerous Cartes de visite, and generally has been made much more public all over the world than other honest women" as a consequence of the queen's favor for them.[258]

Charles Reade's *Christie Johnstone* was the next historical marker in the development of the Newhaven fishwife reputation. Published in 1853, Reade situated most his novel in Newhaven itself, which he portrayed as a place full of tradition and the "old ways." Viscount Ipsden, the novel's protagonist, goes to live among the fisherfolk of Newhaven, who he sees as simple (i.e. lower class) and hard-working, in order to find true meaning and virtue in life. He was escaping what he considered to be the decadent life of the rich, upper class; the life he had known up until that time. When he encounters a fishwife, the Viscount find the "vigorous life, morality, and culture" he had been

[258] Bertram, *The Underappreciated Fisher Folk*, 4.

looking for all of his life.[259] After he gets engaged to a young fisher lassie, Ipsden's mother encourages him to end his engagement because she believes that "it is a Newhaven idea that the female is the natural protector of the male," and she rejects this notion because she believes it is unnatural.[260] For Reade, the fishwife served as the symbol to the outside world of Newhaven's unique power relationships between men and women. It seems that many people shared this same sentiment about Newhaven, and to a lesser extent other Scottish fishing villages, up until the twentieth century.[261]

A final important moment occurred in August 1872, when Queen Victoria toured Scotland again. The Queen wanted to see the Newhaven fishwives in their gala costumes.[262] Queen Victoria was so impressed during this second encounter that 11 years later she requested their presence at Windsor Castle during the London Fisheries Exhibition.[263] By 1872, the Newhaven fishwives had achieved some form of iconic cultural status.

The fishwives' societal status seemed to grow over the next century. In 1923, the French government invited four Newhaven fishwives to represent the fishwife way-of-life for all of Great Britain at the Boulogne Fisheries Exhibition.[264] Frances Milligan was one of these four Newhaveners to go on this 10-day trip; she was only 16 at the time. Frances and her friends staffed an exhibition about fishing culture during the convention, and they were told to wear their gala costumes "at all times."[265] In July 1937, when King

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[259] Sara Stevenson, *Hill and Adamson's The fishermen and women of the Firth of Forth* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1991), 25.
[260] Charles Reade, *Christie Johnstone* (Boston: Tickner and Fields, 1855), 78.
[261] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 61.
[262] Groome, "Newhaven," 5.
[263] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 56.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.

George VI brought his family to visit Newhaven, the fishwives planned to present Princess Margaret with a fishwife doll. For some reason, they were unable to present her with the doll.[266] Ten years after the royal visit, Eunice Murray wrote in *Scottish Homespun* that the fishwives, while dwindling in number, could still often be seen in Edinburgh, and they came from Newhaven, a little village just north of the city.[267]

The image of the fishwives and their look also entered into popular culture.[268] The now-defunct Newhaven History Museum's booklet describing the history of Newhaven contained a picture of Newhaven fishwife earthenware, sharing that these pieces were quite popular mantlepieces in Scotland during the 1950s.[269] In 1983, Christie's auctioned off three traditional Newhaven fishwife costumes on March 1 for 40-50 pounds each. Two belonged to the daughter of a Newhaven fishwife who had no more need for it. When I asked Margaret McLean what she thought about Christie's auctioning off these costumes, she was horrified, and she said she would never sell such a precious item, especially since Margaret's grandmother made Margaret's especially for her.[270] Finally, Dorothy Field wrote an article in *Scottish Field* in 2002 about the incredible demand for clay tabletop statutes and home decorations made by local Scottish potteries over the past several decades. Pottery pieces with the fishwives on them were the first to sell out because the fishwife image was the most popular. According to Fields' interviews with local shopkeepers, the rarest Newhaven fishwife statues were

[266] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 180.
[267] Murray, *Scottish Homespun*, 82.
[268] See Appendix C for pictures of the fishwives.
[269] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 31.
[270] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

selling for £1000 each. They were so popular because customers were buying and preserving a piece of Scottish history.[271]

A famous person or thing often has sayings associated with it, and the fishwives were no exception. One of the museum curators interviewed for this dissertation was told by her mother on more than one occasion to "stop behaving like a fishwife," meaning to not be so bossy or forceful.[272] This saying played on a stereotype of the fishwife pressuring passersby to purchase her fish. It also was rooted in the misogyny of the past. These "mouthy"[273] women were busy working alongside men in the public spaces of Edinburgh, not fulfilling traditional women's roles. They were out in the streets shouting, selling, and taking a very active part in that world. It was quite different from what women were doing in 1928 in Edinburgh and the surrounding region. Another saying came from an interview with Newhavener Mary Kay, who said she remembered her Auntie Beany Carnie going out everyday "with the creel and skull," referring to the head strap the women used to help carry the weight of their creels. Mary explained the meaning of the saying, sharing that it referred to working tirelessly at a very physically demanding job all day long.[274]

Local media accounts, as well as interviews with today's Newhaveners, reveal that by 1928, the Newhaven fishwives enjoyed a universal respect for their work, within the village and from outsiders who knew of them. Without exception, the articles reviewed for this dissertation written in Edinburgh's newspapers in the decades leading

[271] Dorothy Fraser, "The Spirit of the Newhaven Fishwives," *Scottish Field*, November (2002).
[272] Diana Morton, interview with author, Museum of Edinburgh, May 15, 2014.
[273] Her mother's words.
[274] Kay and Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 17, 1994.

up to 1928 contain a variety of laudatory comments, which Chris Garner, a local historian, summarized succinctly in his description of the fishwives: they were revered for their "remarkable resilience, resourcefulness, and industriousness" while working in a very challenging job that no one else wanted. In other words, they were tough and independent at a time when women were not commonly seen as being so strong.[275] The fishwives of Newhaven also became emblematic of "fisher folks' [supposed] intrinsic difference" to the outsiders who marginalized them for being part of a culture non-Newhaveners did not understand.[276]

When F.H. Groom visited the village in 1884, he could not believe how strong and hard-working the women of Newhaven were, writing a full description of their costumes and work habits in his book, the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*.[277] More than one hundred years later, the men and women of today's Newhaven share the same view. Cathy Lighterness said that her parents taught her to respect the fishwives, their fishermen husbands, and the hard work they did staking out a living fishing, and never to sass them.[278] It was a common lesson the Newhaveners passed along to their children.

The fishwives represent one of the most interesting aspects of Newhavener culture, as well as one of the most complex. All of the interviewees who spoke of their fishwife mothers or grandmothers had positive things to say about them, and those villagers who knew the fishwives made similar statements. For the Newhaveners, the fishwife was a symbol of pride, one more example of their unique culture and its great value as opposed to Edinburgh and what its people wanted Newhaven to be. They also

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[275] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 57.
[276] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 88.
[277] Groome, "Newhaven," 5.
[278] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

laughed at the negative comments made against their village over the years by outsiders who did not fully appreciate the fishwives or found them to be threatening to traditional gender stereotypes. As both Esther Liston and Mary Kay explained,[279] despite the variety of opinions held about the fishwives, Newhaven's fisher women were just trying to provide for their families and do what they could to contribute to Newhaven's community.[280]

Fisher Children

As poor as the Newhaven villagers were, and as hard as their families worked, it may be surprising to learn that today's Newhaveners, and the Newhaveners whose interviews this dissertation reviewed, generally remembered their childhood as happy ones. While there is certainly an element of nostalgia, and maybe even myth here, the overall happiness at remembering their youth seemed quite genuine. All agreed that they had little spare time due to the responsibilities Newhaven children shared with their parents.[281] Beyond this point, consensus fell apart, dividing the villagers into three main groups: those who loved their childhoods and had happy memories; those who were thankful for their childhoods but also recognized its hardships; and those who regretted how hard their childhoods were and would not wish that kind of upbringing on anyone else.[282] These memories were reflected in the Newhaveners' accounts of daily life for the village's children, all which recounted some kind of daily chores.

Just like their fisherman fathers and fishwife mothers, fisher children worked, reflecting one of Newhaven's core cultural values. Any fishing-related job that a child

[279] Kay and Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 17, 1994.
[280] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[281] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[282] For help navigating "who's who" in Newhaven, please reference Appendix B.

could do (at least somewhat safely) belonged to the children of the village, and this work usually helped add a little to the family income. This dissertation has already discussed the children's role in helping bait the lines and repairing the nets, but there was also a variety of ways to earn extra income for the family, especially for boys, in Newhaven.[283] Examples of jobs included the following: collecting and breaking fish boxes from the Fishmarket, and selling those pieces for firewood;[284] running various errands; returning empty bottles; collecting street dung and selling it for garden fertilizer;[285] selling the catches of local fisherman to their neighbors; and even working in the local kippering yards or Granton net factories.[286] Finally, it was traditional for the father of the bride at a wedding to throw a large handful of coins out onto the street after the newlyweds drove away, so Newhaven's children would line up along the wedding party route and wait to rush in and gather up as many coins as they could.[287] Even though gathering coins at weddings was one of the ways children "worked" by bringing income into their families, it was one of the happy memories shared by many of the villagers regarding their childhoods.

Children typically gave all or most of their income to their mothers for her to support the family. None of those interviewed gave their money to their fathers.[288] This supports the claim that the women of the village tended to handle the family finances. A good example of a child working to help his parents "make ends meet" was George Hackland. George had a strategy for salvaging any spilled herring in Newhaven Harbor.

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[283] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 15.
[284] Ibid., 8.
[285] Ibid., 17.
[286] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 27.
[287] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 17.
[288] Ibid., 15.

George and his friends would run down to the slipway where the men worked the herring yawls.[289] Any fish that dropped from the men's baskets as they unloaded them off of their yawls on the slip of the harbor were considered fair game, so the first person who picked it up now owned it. The boys had a system in which they worked to get as many of the dropped fish as they could, then they shared the fish amongst themselves. The system had a catch, though: they had to stay out of the fishermen's way or risk a beating.[290] George also performed small jobs like cleaning herring ships on the two days (Friday to Sunday) they stayed in port while the men rested, delivering newspapers or milk, and selling firewood from debris he found in the village.[291]

For those Newhaveners who loved growing up in Newhaven, the Newhaven of old was idyllic. Ann Cupples told Tom McGowran that Newhaven was "a marvelous place to be young in,"[292] and a majority of other Newhaveners like Sandy Noble,[293] Rena Barnes,[294] and Nessie Carnie[295] agreed with her. For the Newhaveners who treasured their childhoods, every day was a new adventure. Sandy described his childhood as "happy times" that were perfect for any little boy, and they prepared him to become a man in later years.[296] Rena and Nessie added that the matriarchal tendencies of Newhaven ensured that the children received great care, thus sharing one of the reasons why they remembered it so fondly.[297]

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[289] Miles Tubb and John McCaughie, *Edinburgh Memories* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), 51.
[290] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 18.
[291] Tubb and McCaughie, *Edinburgh Memories*, 51.
[292] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 228.
[293] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[294] Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.
[295] Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven ASDA, March 20, 2015.
[296] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[297] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 148.

Despite not having much free time, Newhaven children were given the freedom to play, overseeing their own games and playtime so long as they did not get in the way of any adults working in the village.[298] They played outside almost entirely, and they did so all year long, even in the cold, due to the lack of space inside Newhaven's small houses. Also, as many pointed out in their interviews, the village "back then" was "safe" for children to roam and play in.[299] Their free time included a variety of activities, many of them common to most children, and some more specific to fishing villages along the coast like Newhaven. The more common activities included a large number of games for all seasons: jump rope, hop scotch, roller skating and cart racing,[300] feeding pigeons,[301] playing make-believe, running in races around the village, tag, and of course, soccer.[302] While they did play in the streets, usually the children would go to Fisherman's Park, which they called Fishy Park, due to its big open spaces. It was their playground, [303] because, as Rena Barnes shared, they loved to be outside.[304] Some families were able to afford pets, so the children would play with their dogs or cats if they had ones. Christine Ramsay Johnston loved her neighbor's golden labrador, Steve, and played with him often.[305]

On bad weather days when they had to stay inside, which was rare, their games included dominos, ludo, snakes and ladders, and in less religious or superstitious families, cards. Many of Newhaven's parents limited their children's games to those the mother

[298] Ibid., 12.
[299] Ibid., 8.
[300] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, December 7, 1993.
[301] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[302] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 8.
[303] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[304] Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.
[305] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

and father considered to be acceptable for young Christians to play.[306] Newhaven's children could also go to the cinema in Leith or Edinburgh to see a movie and have popcorn and refreshments.[307]

The children spent a lot of their free time by the sea. Because the sea wall protected them from the winds off the Firth, fishing in the harbor from behind it was a big favorite.[308] Christine Ramsay Johnston and her friends would run around the base of the lighthouse as fast as they could, trying not to fall down into the sea.[309] But as we might expect, the children enjoyed swimming in the Forth most of all. Many of them recounted swimming stories from their youth. Some, like William Liston or Ian Smith, loved to swim across the entire harbor, usually racing their friends.[310] The children would also swim out into the Forth up to the yachts passing by Newhaven, getting a look at the "rich" folks who were on the ships by crawling up the sides and peaking in, if they thought they could get away with it without being noticed.[311] Newhaven children swam so much that they even referred to the Forth as their other playground.[312] As happy as these memories were for some Newhaveners, others remembered some of the harder aspects of their childhood.

The second group of Newhaven interviewees was also thankful for their childhoods, but they made a point to talk about the challenges they faced. On top of the hard work and frequent chores, Newhaven fisher families each had a set of rules the

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[306] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 15.
[307] Ibid., 12.
[308] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 31.
[309] Christine Ramsay Johnston and James Johnston, interview with author, Boise, July 7, 2015.
[310] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 227.
[311] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 32.
[312] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

children had to follow, and because the village was so small and everyone was so close (relationally), an adult was always watching, usually one of the children's grandmothers; so the children knew they would get in trouble if they broke a rule. Cathy Lighterness put it this way: "When Newhaven was Newhaven, a child could go anywhere in the village, and somebody would know who you belonged to… if you did anything wrong, they'd tell your folks."[313]

The rules varied depending on the family. Frances Milligan summarized the experience of a lot of Newhaveners when she talked about her daily routine, one that her mother designed to keep Frances and her siblings busy, decreasing any spare time. This included a common rule among Newhaven's fisher families: a strict curfew for the kids. Frances had to be in by 9:00 p.m. sharp.[314] George Hackland's mother made her children perform acts of service and charity without any expectation of reward, much to his frustration when the receiver of the gift wanted to compensate the child with a small token of gratitude. George was not allowed to accept it because, as his mother emphasized, "virtue was its own reward." In fact, if George's mother found out one of her children (replace all with children) did accept a reward for a good deed, she would spank them.[315] Frances Milligan agreed with George and said that her mother was the same way, calling her "an awful one" for sending her kids out to serve other families in the village.[316]

A final example of a family rule came from Sandy Noble. Sandy talked about how his mother refused to let any of her children dance unless she was nearby watching

[313] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[314] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[315] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 15.
[316] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.

them; she did not want them to "sin" while dancing.[317] This rule frustrated Sandy because many of the village's children, especially the girls, learned to dance at Jean Carnie's Dancing School.[318] Parents who believed dancing itself was not sinful wanted their children to learn the proper way to dance, and Jean, a Newhaven native, worked diligently to provide professional dance lessons for all ages, especially the children.[319]

The last group of interviewees, who had more negative things to say about growing up in Newhaven than positive, was the smallest in size. Their thoughts on their Newhaven childhoods came down to this: no child should grow up in such poverty and be expected to work so hard. For them, there was no time to just be a kid; Newhaven children did not have the luxury of childhood because they were always trying to help their parents pay the bills. As Margaret McLean put it, "we need you to grow up so you can contribute, so we can keep going."[320]

Being a child in Newhaven was not easy, but it was all the children knew at the time. Looking back, we can see both the good and the bad of their early years. Newhaven provided its children with a "tight-knit community" where children belonged, knew they were cared for, and got to enjoy the joys of youth in their limited free time. Newhaven's children had to find joy in the world around them while working in the fishing industry and living in a fishing village where fishing determined what was expected of them. In an insular village, everyone knew your business, diminishing any feeling of privacy the children might have, and with such relational closeness among the

[317] Newhaven History Group, interview with Denise Brace, March 25, 1994.
[318] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[319] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 12.
[320] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

villagers, the adults constantly shaped and molded what the children became.[321] It is possible that class played a big role in determining who had happier childhood memories and who had darker ones, as greater family financial stability would have freed the children up to do less work and play more. Once again, the dynamic of belonging to fisher families strongly influenced their futures and the formation of their own individual identities.

Fishing, Families, and Gender Roles

In interview after interview with the Newhaveners, it became very clear that work and gender were closely interrelated. As this chapter has shown, men, women, and children all performed specific work duties within the family, forced upon them by the demands of fishing, and there was very little crossover in responsibilities between family members. This created masculine and feminine spheres within Newhaven village life: the sea belonged to the men, and the land belonged to the women.[322] The Fishmarket, as well as daily tasks or chores within Newhaven itself, contained the only shared work experiences of the entire family. These spheres required parents to begin preparing and equipping their children at a young age so that the kids were ready to enter into their gender's sphere in adulthood. For parents of sons, this was especially important due to the extreme dangers their sons would face on the high seas.

Tom McGowran summarized the strict gender boundary lines the Newhaveners set up around the sea when he wrote that the men and boys went out onto the waters, and "no woman was permitted to intrude on this male preserve."[323] Not only were women

[321] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[322] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 157.
[323] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 31.

not permitted to join them; once the ships left port, there was no way for a woman to even come onto the trawlers during their 10-12 day voyages or the yawls' daily trips out onto the Firth.[324] It was even seen as "unlucky" for a woman to be aboard a ship.[325]

Knowing the demands and dangers their sons would face, Newhaven's parents made sure that their sons spent a lot of time swimming, fishing, and out at sea in the Forth to prepare them for a life of fishing.[326] Because working conditions on the yawls and trawlers were so bad, fathers knew that their sons needed to be tough and capable of handling complicated sea-faring tasks while feeling cold and exhausted at the same time, so they did whatever it took to toughen their boys up. This explains why many of the Newhaveners described their fathers as being emotionally distant, not showing any or much affection for their children; they did not want their children to be needy.[327]

Parents did not push their daughters to learn sea-faring skills, though. When Charles Reade released his novel *Christie Johnstone* in 1853, it caused a huge uproar in the village because his female protagonist took a boat out to fish for herring, and for the Newhaveners, that was not allowed.[328] This gender boundary lasted for well into the twentieth century. During the 1980s, Jim Park delivered groceries to a Soviet ship docked in Granton Harbor, where he saw two female sailors on the ship. When he told his boss at the grocery about the women he saw, his boss did not believe him.[329]

Newhaven's parents had to prepare their daughters for the dual role of working as a door-to-door saleswoman and running a household. Malcolm Cant referred to this in

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[324] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[325] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.
[326] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 227.
[327] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[328] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 31.
[329] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 2.

his writings as "a basic training in the harsh realities of a fisherman's family."[330] While interviewing a group of Newhaven women, I mentioned that the men caught the fish, and then asked, "What did the women do?" One of them responded, "Everything else!" to much laughter and agreement around the table.[331] This was not much of an exaggeration. Mothers trained their daughters to kyle, pack a creel, "fin and skin" a fish (cutting off the fins and removing the skin),[332] fillet a fish while standing on a doorstep, and balance large amounts of weight on their backs. In order to be able to serve as working partners in the fishing business with their husbands one day, the girls had to learn how to bait lines, mend sails, and repair nets, too.[333]

Mothers also taught their daughters cooking, budgeting, and performing household chores, a task the men supposedly "never" shared in with their wives.[334] Why would such strong women allow their husbands to do so little when they were at home? The answer seems to be because of the dangerous nature of fishing: the men risked their lives daily, so there was just an acceptance and an understanding among Newhaven women to lessen their husbands' burdens while on land.[335] Their children loved their mothers for their hard work, too. Within Newhaven's familial structure where the women enjoyed a lot of authority as compared to their counterparts around Scotland, it is not surprising that most Newhaveners described their mothers in glowing, affectionate terms.[336]

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[330] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 157.

[331] Marina Bain, Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 18, 2015.

[332] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 630.

[333] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, December 7, 1993.

[334] Hepburn and Williamson, interview with Helen Clark, 1993.

[335] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

[336] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 93.

When these mothers became grandmothers and could no longer carry the creel, they would watch their grandchildren while their daughters walked their old routes, continuing the tradition of selling fish to "their ladies."[337] Grandmothers enjoyed a "universal respect" and affection in Newhaven due to their role of babysitting the children, and the most of the interviewees remembered their "grans" fondly, as well as several other of the villages grannies not directly related to them.[338] With so much expected of each gender as they grew up, and all that the children had to know in order to continue Newhaven's tradition of being a fishing village, it is not surprising that Newhaven parents pressured their children to marry within the village itself, and why marrying outside was taboo.

Fishing and Marriage

Throughout most of Newhaven's history, with origins probably beginning around the time of the village's annexation by Leith in 1511,[339] the villagers did not approve of marrying outside of Newhaven, especially if the person came from Edinburgh or Leith.[340] It did not matter if newcomers were male or female; they were all regarded by the villagers as "outsiders" for the rest of their lives while living in Newhaven.[341] Newhaven's parents wanted spouses for their children who could join the family fishing business without much acclimation to the demands of fishing village life; they also were very suspicious of outsiders due to Newhaven's tumultuous political history with Edinburgh and Leith. In fact, marriage to an outsider was frowned upon even in 1928,

[337] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[338] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 93.
[339] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 152.
[340] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 19.
[341] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.

although the presence of "mixed blood" families in Newhaven at that time proves that this historical bias had begun to soften.[342] The resulting tradition of intermarriage within the village explains the rise of the six main Newhaven families over time: the Carneys, the Fluckers, the Hacklands, the Lintons, the Listons, and the Wilsons.[343] While other smaller family groups lived in the village, a Newhavener was usually related to one of these six main families.

Marrying a spouse who understood the fishing industry and its demands was crucial to survival. If a son married a girl from outside the village, his parents would ask, "What use is a girl like that? Can she bait a hook?"[344] George Liston put it this way: "It was essential for fishermen to marry within the community. A lassie outside the boundary would know nothing about line baiting, or any of the skills a fisherman's wife had to know in order to stay alive."[345] In other words, "a fisher laddie needed a fisher lassie."[346] Tom McGowran added to Liston's sentiment when he wrote: "Was it any wonder that marriages were seldom outside the village? No landward maid could have borne the load."[347] Finally, David Hall, who spent many years at sea, pointed out that many of the men who served on the trawlers died at a young age, so marrying a wife who knew how to help him succeed in his job, and continue it in his absence, was very important.[348]

Four Newhaveners' stories corroborate this dynamic. Frances Milligan's mother married a man from Gorgie, and for the rest of her life, Frances' grandmother said her

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[342] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*, May 10, 1938.
[343] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[344] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 19.
[345] George Garson, "Reflections on Fishin'," *Evening News*, November 12, 1983.
[346] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 65.
[347] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 27.
[348] Garson, "Reflections on Fishin'."

daughter "married a foreigner."[349] Margaret Campbell said that her grandmother married a man from outside of Newhaven, an "utter stranger, and the least said about him the better." It was because of his status as an "incomer" that her grandparents' marriage "didn't work."[350] When Cathy Lighterness' grandfather decided to marry her grandmother, who came from Orkney, his mother turned to him and said, "Why are you marrying her? There are enough bonny lasses in Newhaven." Cathy's great-grandmother was worried that an outsider would not be able to handle the daily hardships of fishing life. Then Cathy's grandfather said he had made up his mind, and his mother shot back, "Well don't come to me for any help, because you'll not get it!" Finally, Jim Park married a woman from outside Newhaven, and one day while walking down the street, an elderly Newhaven woman asked him what was wrong with him for doing that. He just politely ignored her.[351]

It was possible for newcomers to find acceptance into the insular fishing village. Over time, "outsiders" who learned Newhaven's ways and became fully-functioning members of the village usually were accepted, even if begrudgingly. Margaret Campbell mentioned that even though no one openly talked about it, Newhaven needed new blood due to centuries of intermarriage, so introducing new people into Newhaven's families was a good thing.[352] Several of those interviewed for this dissertation moved into Newhaven in their youth, yet they laughed about how the villagers still referred to them as outsiders after all these years. One of these was Mary Rutherford. Mary married into a long-time Newhaven family, and even though it took a few years to be fully accepted

[349] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[350] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[351] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 2.
[352] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.

into village life, Mary eventually felt like she belonged due to the community's connection with her husband and her mother-in-law. Because they accepted her, everyone else did, too.[353]

Cathy Lighterness and her friends mentioned that this anti-outsider marriage dynamic softened in the years after World War II for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 4, but the bias still lives on even today.[354] In addition to her grandfather's choice of marrying an "outsider," Cathy Lighterness' father also married outside the village, and Cathy took a lot of grief over the years from her friends for having a parent who was not a Newhaven native.[355] I witnessed this firsthand when one of Cathy's friends made a jokingly derogatory comment about it right after Cathy told me about her dad's origins.[356] Teasing is much less harsh than the actual disdain outsiders and "mixed" families received from Newhaveners in the past, but it does seem true that the anti-outsider dynamic still exists among today's Newhaveners, even if it has weakened quite a bit.

Conclusion

Newhaven spent several centuries as the "very centre of the fishing community… steeped in traditions of the sea," and the profession of fishing and its demands shaped the context within which Newhaven's villagers structured their daily lives and defined their class, gender, and familial roles.[357] With the men out fishing for herring or other fish on either the yawls or trawlers on the dangerous high seas for most of the week, the women of the village enjoyed a degree of authority and autonomy uncommon among their

[353] Debbie Dickson and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.
[354] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[355] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[356] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[357] "Edinburgh-on-Sea: The City's Greatest Asset."

contemporaries, causing Newhaven to become a community with strong matriarchal elements. Even though the "fishing was a partnership of equals… the women were more equal than the men, [setting up] a [seemingly] practical matriarchy induced by the long absences of men at sea."[358]

The fishwives present a complicated dynamic for historians because it contains elements that seem contradictory. Today's Newhaveners expressed great pride at the unique position their fishwife ancestors held in the village over the centuries, but as they explained, the women had to step in to help their husbands make a living, as well as care for their families. For the Newhaveners, it was a matter of necessity brought on by the day-to-day requirements of fishing, not a progressive triumph of women's equality in a traditionally patriarchal culture. Until the twentieth century, outsiders portrayed the fishwives and their power in the village as a negative, using the fishwives' example to stereotype the fisher people of Newhaven as "other" and "abnormal" in a marginalization tactic that reinforced traditional class and gender divisions in the capital city. At the same time, however, outsiders marveled at the strength and perseverance of the fishwives, wondering how they could perform traditionally "masculine" tasks with such success. All of these outsider opinions about the fishwives coexisted simultaneously.

This chapter also explained how the dynamics of the fishing industry, with its dangerous trips and unpredictable results, forced families to do everything they could to survive. Every member of the family had a specific role to fill and distinct responsibilities that came with it. The attributes of these roles and responsibilities fell along strict gender lines, boundaries created over time and enforced by the villagers

[358] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 25.

themselves. The men caught the fish; the women sold it, and the children performed any task they could to bring in extra income. Fishermen risked their lives with each trip out to sea, and many never returned. Selling the fish by walking the streets of Edinburgh while the men were away empowered the fishwives with a degree of financial independence, as well as making them the face of the village to the outside world, even to the point of becoming iconic parts of Edinburgh daily life. Both Newhaven fishermen and their fishwives endeavored to prepare their children to take their places once circumstances dictated the need for the next generation to enter the fishing industry workforce; this included finding suitable spouses who knew exactly what they were getting into by joining a Newhaven fishing family.

Fishing not only determined the characteristics of all aspects of Newhavener families' collective and individual identities; it also influenced and shaped the characteristics of their village community. Even though it was small in size, Newhaven became a place rich with a variety of beliefs, customs, and traditions that made its culture unique among the Firth of Forth's fishing villages. Chapter 3 will explore the various "texts" of Newhaven through its daily life and customs, where the Newhaveners performed those customs, and how the meaning they brought into those village spaces made them places for belonging and communal living.[359]

[359] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

# Chapter 3

## The Community

### Introduction

From 1504 until 1928, the beginning of Newhaven's twilight period, the men, women, and children who lived in Newhaven built a distinct, multi-faceted culture in their collective space, one that was constantly changing and evolving over time. Like other small communities across the world, each individual villager contributed in his or her own small way to the greater community as a whole, eventually creating Newhaven the village in 1928. Dominated by a single industry, Newhaven's entire "social life" revolved around the "cycle of fishing."[1] It strongly influenced all aspects of life, including beliefs, actions, events, customs, rituals, traditions, and institutions the villagers created, maintained, and adapted over the centuries. The marginalization experienced from outsiders combined with the challenges of fishing for a living caused the villagers to turn inward towards one another, their friends and family who understand the hardships of the fishing life. After four centuries of community living centered around fishing, by 1928 the people of Newhaven enjoyed a rich daily life full of a variety of idiosyncratic facets unique to their small village on the Firth of Forth.

Drawing upon the Newhavener interviews, as well as local media and outsider accounts that discussed Newhaven's culture, Chapter 3 begins by describing the Newhaven belief systems found among the villagers and the institutions, customs, rituals, and traditions that resulted as the Newhaveners acted on those beliefs. The Newhaveners held a variety of disparate beliefs about the world around them, but they seemed to share

[1] Paul Thompson, Tony Walley, and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1983), 232.

and agree on three fundamental beliefs that defined their collective worldviews as a village and simultaneously informed each other. These were a belief in the God of Christianity and the supernatural; a belief in the need for order due to unpredictable nature of fishing and ill effects of alcohol and gambling on the village; and a belief in the importance of family and community.

Chapter 1 discussed the important places of Newhaven and what occurred within each one. Through "social translation, transformation, and experience," the people of Newhaven gave these socially-constructed spaces "inherent meaning and purpose for the practical uses of daily life."[2] Using "interpretive explanation," the second half of Chapter 3 will consider how these "spaces" became "places" through the meaning ascribed to them by the inhabitants, places that became sites of belonging comprised of micro-communities within the village.[3] It explains daily life in the Newhaven of 1928, exploring the many "texts," as Clifford Geertz would say, of their culture: the Newhaveners' beliefs, customs, rituals, traditions, and institutions.[4] This exploration includes descriptions of Newhavener spirituality, opinions on all aspects of life, leisure activities and hobbies, housing, education, and festivals. It also explores the last aspect of the six reasons for why the village became famous: its fisherwomen's choirs.

One God

Newhaven was a distinctly Christian village; to be a Newhavener was synonymous with being a Christian. While there were varying levels of religious practice

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[2] Edward Soja, *Post-modern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso Publishing, 1989), 16.

[3] Clifford Geertz, "Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought," in *Local Knowledge* (New Work: Basic Books, 2000).

[4] Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

found among the villagers, the people of Newhaven identified and lived as Christians. Newhaveners adhered to the traditional theology of Protestant Christianity. Most were Scottish Presbyterians who attended the Church of Scotland or the United Free Church of Scotland, while a handful of others attended other denominations, such as the Brethren.[5] Facing the unpredictable and dangerous profession of fishing, Newhaven's fisher people turned to Christianity for spiritual guidance and help in their daily lives.[6]

The people of Newhaven held distinctly Christian worldviews, which included a strong sense of right and wrong and that God took a personal interest in all aspects of their lives. This is significant because it affected their daily choices: if a sovereign God was watching them, and they believed He was going to hold them accountable one day for all of their deeds, both good and bad, they felt pressure to follow His ways as described in the Scriptures and explained by their parish minister. Many of the villagers lived hard lives, but as they looked back on everything they had been through, several shared that they believed God had been with them and been good to them because He was interested in them personally.[7]

It is important to understand the Newhaven worldview because it explains the reasons behind many of the Newhaven institutions, customs, rituals, and traditions explored later in this chapter. Three key Christian teachings that informed their worldviews emerged in the interviews with the people of Newhaven. First, their pastors taught them to love God and love each other, a teaching many parents passed along to their children. This belief supported the strong Newhaven value of family, community,

[5] Rena Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.
[6] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 206.
[7] Margaret McLean, interview with author, Fairmilehead, June 8, 2014.

and belonging.[8] Second, they believed that the Lord "helped those who helped themselves," thus leading to a strong work ethic and expectation among the village that everybody, even the children at times, had to work.[9] Paul Thompson and his co-authors found this to be a common virtue among fishing villages across the world; Christian fisherfolk saw their hard work as an act of obedience unto God.[10]

Finally, God was a God of order, and sinners in this world participated in disorder. As Creator, God gave order and purpose to a person's daily lived experience. The family was one extension of His government for the world, and raising the next generation of children according to His ways ensured the continuation of Newhaven as an orderly, God-fearing village. With these common three Christian tenets in mind, it is also important to understand how such a small village like Newhaven, comprised of people who believed in one God and one faith, came to have two large churches.

Two Churches

Christianity held a special place in Newhaven from its beginning. King James IV built the Chapel of St. Mary and St. James, a Catholic chapel, for his dock workers while they were constructing his new shipyard, and the chapel's remains still sit quietly in a small, walled-off yard on Newhaven Main Street today, serving as a reminder of Newhaven's Christian heritage. In 1631,[11] as the Scottish Reformation began winding down, church leaders in the North Leith Parrish annexed Newhaven's congregation, attaching them to St. Ninian's Church in North Leith, a parish in the Church of

[8] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, February 11, 1994.
[9] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.
[10] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 259.
[11] "Centennial Celebration," *Evening News*, September 22, 1936.

Scotland.[12] Weekly services were held at Newhaven's small school for those would could not walk to St. Ninian's. While the exact year is not recorded, on some Sunday during the seventeenth century, a visiting minister came to Newhaven, only to find a packed house and many able-bodied men occupying seats in the schoolhouse that the minister thought should be reserved for the infirm. He chastised them for not walking to St. Ninian's and allowing the less mobile to worship closer to home in Newhaven. The problem was clear: Newhaven needed a church of its own that could house all of its villagers who wanted to attend services.

When a new minister, Dr. Jas Buchanan, came to North Leith Parish in 1828, he began holding mid-week services in the Newhaven school for the villagers. These became so popular that Dr. Buchanan began advocating for a permanent church building in Newhaven itself.[13] The villagers joined him in calling for their own house of worship. In 1836, through a combination of the Church of Scotland funds and donations from the Newhaveners, the villagers opened Newhaven Parish Church, which could hold around 400 people, on Craighall Road[14] with much celebration.[15] Two years later, the Church of Scotland appointed Dr. James Fairbairn minister of the new parish. For the first time in 300 years, Newhaven had its own church again, and the villagers did not have to leave the village to attend church on Sunday mornings. That celebration was short-lived due to national church politics.

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[12] John Kirk, "Where 'Michael' was Built," *Evening Dispatch*, Nov. 21, 1958.

[13] Tom McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 189.

[14] Right beside the new "cut" through the hill there.

[15] "Centennial Celebration," *Evening News*, September 22, 1936.

Only seven years after Newhaven Parish Church opened, the Church of Scotland went through a conflict known as "the Disruption," which had profound consequences for the village. In May 1843, 450 ministers, who represented about one-third of the Church's congregations across the country,[16] broke away from the Church of Scotland over a proposed change to church discipline called "patronage," where the Church of Scotland would choose and appoint all ministers. Patronage would have replaced a local congregation's right to choose its own minister, as they had traditionally done.[17] Newhaven's minister, Dr. James Fairbairn, was one of the 450, and many of his Newhaven brethren supported him because they wanted to preserve this historical right.[18] The Disruption split the entire Church of Scotland in two; the dissenters formed the Free Church of Scotland while the rest remained in the Church of Scotland.[19]

The split led to the creation of a second church congregation in Newhaven who called themselves Newhaven Free Church. Led by Dr. Fairbairn and the half of the former Newhaven Parish Church parishioners who followed him, the new congregation finished building their church on the waterfront in 1852 after an eight-year campaign. The funds for construction came from Newhaven's fisher families. They added a 37-foot spire on top of a 120-foot tower[20] in 1883 after Newhaven's fishermen spent an entire day sailing back and forth across the Forth to pick up the stones for it in Fife.[21]

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[16] Alan Stewart, *Tracing Your Edinburgh Ancestors* (Croydon, UK: Pen & Sword Books, 2015), 114.

[17] Chris Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community" (unpublished manuscript, 2013), 77.

[18] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 189.

[19] Denise Brace, Helen Clark and Elaine Greg, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs* (Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council Department of Recreation, 1998), 44.

[20] Andrew M. Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," *Newhaven Conservation Plan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Town Council, 2000), 1.

[21] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 189.

Newhaven Free Church, built like a cathedral, was large enough to hold about 800 worshipers. Both churches served as two of the largest and most influential sites of belonging in Newhaven.

As often happens in small towns, the locals developed their own colloquialisms for each of Newhaven's two churches, even though they occupied the same parish. In fact, according to many of the interviewees, "no one" called the two churches by their actual names. The villagers referred to attending Newhaven Parish Church as going "up the Cut" due to its location right beside the "cut" in the hill that Craighall Road made as it sloped down into Newhaven from neighboring Trinity. If a Newhavener attended Newhaven Free Church, they went "'doon' the pier" because the cathedral sat overlooking Newhaven Harbor and its pier.[22] The spaces they occupied led to the churches' renaming by those who lived there, giving each place a special meaning for Newhaven's inhabitants. The Newhaveners thought of the older of the two churches, Newhaven Parish Church, as the more traditional due to it being a Church of Scotland parish church.[23]

Attending "Up the Cut"

Because Newhaven Parish Church was the original church in Newhaven, and due to its location up on the hill right beside the "posh" neighborhood of Trinity, many of the villagers saw the church as being "nearer to God" and "more posh," so some of them did not feel as welcome there. In fact, after the split, those who attended Newhaven Free Church saw Newhaven Parish Church as belonging more to the people who lived in Trinity than to the villagers in Newhaven, despite the fact that families living in Trinity

[22] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 44.
[23] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 77.

also attended Newhaven Free Church.[24] One lifelong Newhaven Parish Church member, Cathy Lighterness, and her friend Betina told me it was the other way around. They never felt quite welcome at Newhaven Free Church, and they argued that just as many fisher families attended her church as the one "doon' the pier."[25] The divide between the two churches was rooted in villagers' perceptions of the class differences within Newhaven, even though villagers thought that about the same number of the village's skippers and owners attended each church.[26]

The irony of this opinion is that as the official church of Newhaven, the Church of Scotland charged Newhaven Parish Church's minister with the spiritual care of all of Newhaven's inhabitants, not just those who attended his church. Fortunately for Newhaven, the villagers who attended Newhaven Free Church embraced their Church of Scotland brothers and sisters with open arms, and according to all accounts given by the Newhaveners interviewed for this dissertation, the two congregations learned to live together as one village community just like in the years before the Disruption.[27] These accounts of such great unity sound nostalgic, having possibly even grown to the level of myth that the Newhaveners have developed collectively since Newhaven's redevelopment ended in 1978. That said, Newhavener interviews contain accounts of the entire village turning out to attend one or the other church's events over the years. Whether the two churches lived in perfect unity or not, today's Newhaveners genuinely believe that they did.

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[24] Chris Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

[25] Marina Bain, Debbie Dickson, Catherine Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 18, 2015.

[26] Susan Edwards, Catherine Lighterness, Maureen MacGregor, Nessie Nisbet, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.

[27] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.

Worshiping "Doon' the Pier"

Newhaven Free Church began because thousands of Scottish Christians across the country refused to let the Church of Scotland take away their historical right to choose their own minister, and this included many of Newhaven's believers. Born out of defiance, Newhaven Free Church quickly became the larger of the two Newhaven congregations. In fact, in addition to being referred to as worshiping "doon' the pier," Newhaveners began to refer to Newhaven Free Church as "the Fishermen's Church" and "our church" for two reasons.[28] First, the fishermen themselves paid for the entire structure to be built in the center of Newhaven in 1852 with their own funds, and later they added the spire and steeple in 1883.[29] The stone features of the cathedral included carvings of various sea motifs that reflected Newhaven daily life.[30] The second reason came as a result of the work of the church's founding pastor, Dr. James Fairbairn.

When Dr. Fairbairn first came to Newhaven in 1838, he began to worry about the ability of his congregation's fisher families to compete with the increasingly-modern fishing fleets of nearby Granton and Leith, so in 1860, he launched a crusade to raise the funds necessary for modernizing and updating all 33 of the fishing boats in Newhaven Harbor.[31] At a price of £250 each, the campaign took almost an entire decade to complete, but he and his congregation were successful. By 1870, Newhaven had 33 brand new yawls in its harbor.[32] Dr. Fairbarn's understanding of fishing life and care for his congregation endeared him to Newhaven Free Church's parishioners. In fact, many

[28] Garner, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[29] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 77.
[30] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 45.
[31] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 193.
[32] Kirk, "Where 'Michael' was Built," Nov. 21, 1958.

of today's Newhaveners still credit his modernization crusade with preserving Newhaven's way-of-life during that challenging time while they feuded with the Church of Scotland's leaders.[33]

The View From "Above"

The Church of Scotland's headquarters sits in downtown Edinburgh at 121 George Street, so its parishioners often refer to the H.Q. and its leaders simply as "121" or "George Street." According to Newhavener George Liston, the Church of Scotland did not appreciate losing such a large group of parishioners to a new denomination during the Disruption, especially after having just recognized Newhaven as its own parish seven years prior. With the Disruption taking over a third of the Church of Scotland's members away in a single day, George Street was eager to draw its former members back into the fold, and a small fishing village like Newhaven was deemed not large or important enough to maintain two congregations in two church facilities.[34] However, there was nothing George Street could do about it since the Church of Scotland had no control over the Newhaven Free Church congregation.

This power dynamic changed in 1929. That year, the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland[35] merged in a national event referred to as "the Amalgamation," which largely reversed the Disruption of 1843. With its authority intact once again over all of Newhaven, the Church of Scotland renamed both Newhaven churches; Newhaven Parish Church became Newhaven-on-Forth Parish Church, and

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[33] Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1986), 164.

[34] George Liston, Sandy Noble, and Jim Wilson, interview with Jane George, Newhaven, December 3, 1993.

[35] In 1900, several other small, breakaway denominations joined with the Free Church of Scotland to form the United Free Church of Scotland.

Newhaven Free Church became St. Andrew's Church. Despite the new names, the villagers continued to use their preferred colloquialisms when referring to the church "up the Cut" or "'doon' the pier."[36] Because of the robust membership of both congregations, George Street reluctantly decided to keep both churches open for the time being, allowing these institutions to continue in their traditional roles as spiritual, political, and social centers in the village, pillars that strengthened and supported Newhaven's way-of-life.[37]

The View From "Below"

Members of both congregations had their own personal reasons for attending the church of their choice. They also held a variety of other opinions about the how the churches operated and what it meant to be a Christian in Newhaven. Three main opinions related to the churches appeared in the discussions among those interviewed for this dissertation: the importance of Sabbath, frustration with church finances, and questioning the need for two churches.

Newhaven families took their Sabbaths very seriously. Not all families went to church, but the vast majority of them did. Families attended Sunday School and the morning worship service at either Newhaven Parish Church or Newhaven Free Church, and while family members might return for church-related events later in the day, such as to participate in the men's groups or children's organizations, they did not do much else on Sundays. Sabbath on Sundays meant that there were no chores and no trips to the cinema, shops, or even playgrounds for the children.[38] The people of Newhaven observed Sabbath so strictly that they even had a member from the Society of Free

[36] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 77.
[37] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 184.
[38] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 70.

Fishermen chain up the playground swings Sunday morning to prevent children from using the playground.[39] John Liston would go to church Sunday morning, then Sunday School, dinner at home, the Society of Free Fisherman at 3:00 for a talk, and then home for tea (supper).[40] As a boy, Jim Park's Sunday was similar. He began Sunday with the weekly Boys Brigade parade, followed by church at Newhaven Parish Church, and then Sunday School with the girls present as well.[41] In doing this, the villagers lived out the biblical Old Testament commandment of resting on the seventh day.

Newhaven families also took their finances very seriously, and since many of them gave part of their limited incomes to their church every month in the form of a tithe, how church leaders raised and spent these funds received serious scrutiny. Both Newhaven Parish Church and Newhaven Free Church charged a "pew tithe," where a person paid for his or her seat in the main sanctuary. 121 George Street instituted the pew tithe to ensure that Scottish Christians paid their monthly tithes to the church, thus ensuring a steady income stream for the Church of Scotland.[42] Many Newhaveners were convinced that the churches collected more money than they should have from the villagers, although several were quick to note that the Catholic Church in Leith took even more from its parishioners than their Protestant counterparts.[43]

Tom Hall, who attended Newhaven Free Church, said that parishioners paid their pew tithe twice a year. Then the minister or a church elder placed the buyer's name on that pew, and that was his or her seat, called a "sitting," for the Sunday worship service.

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[39] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 81.
[40] Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, March 8, 1994.
[41] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 1.
[42] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[43] Willie Flucker, John Stephenson, and Ian Smith, interview with author, Newhaven, May 18, 2014.

The seats got less expensive the farther back from the minister, so the wealthier families in the village usually sat up front, giving rise among the villagers to the saying, "The nearer the pulpit, the bigger the rogue." They might have all been fisher families, but some had more money than others and showed it by sitting in places of greater prominence, hence the resentment from those Newhaven Christians who could not afford such a luxury. As expected, these tended to be the skippers, business owners, and other professional class members of Newhaven who could afford to pay more for their sitting; in other words, those who sat at the higher end of the social spectrum in the village.[44] The Church of Scotland ended this practice in the 1950s, replacing it with a Freewill Offering where members gave their tithes and offerings anonymously.[45]

While a majority of interviewees argued that the village needed both churches, this view was not universal. A smaller group questioned the need for having two large churches in such a small fishing village, and the fact that both churches required large sums of money for their annual upkeep strengthened their opinion that one would have been enough.[46] The sense among this minority that when one church got a good minister, the other church would get a "mean" one only strengthened their opinion that Newhaven needed one church, not two.[47] Despite these divergent statements, the Newhaveners claimed that they found ways to either overcome their differences of opinion about each other or at least live peacefully alongside each other, all in the name of persevering for the good of Newhaven.

[44] Edwards et al, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.
[45] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 81.
[46] Mary Clement, interview with author, Newhaven, May 19, 2014.
[47] Flucker et al, interview with author, Newhaven, May 18, 2014.

One Community

Even though the people of Newhaven worshiped separately on Sunday mornings, congregations of both churches attended each other's events throughout the year as one big community.[48] In this way, each church served as a site of belonging for the entire village. Sandy Noble described it like this: when one church put on a large event, they expected members of the other congregation to join them, and they did. Sandy and the other Newhaveners interviewed said that this showed that while everyone had their preferred house of worship, and strong opinions justifying their reason for attending there versus the other church, the fact that the entire village turned out for church events proved that no major social division or rivalry existed between the congregations. George Hackland agreed and added that the villagers felt a strong interest in each other's lives, genuinely caring for their neighbors because they were carrying out their Christian faith.[49]

Each congregation was comprised of Newhaven fisher families, a small number of families in Newhaven who worked in other professions, and families from nearby Trinity. Sometimes even members of one family went to different churches. Cathy Lighterness attended Newhaven Parish Church her entire life, but her sister chose to attend St. Andrews with her friends as she grew older.[50] Jim Wilson grew up in Newhaven Parish Church, but after he married, he switched to St. Andrews at his wife's request without any kind of condemnation or family problems stemming from his decision.[51] Some Newhaveners were very loyal, and others did not like change; so a

[48] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 46.
[49] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[50] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[51] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.

family changing from one church to the other was big news for the day in the little village. The fact that the entire village was inter-related also made the "one community-two churches" dynamic easier to maintain.[52]

The churches were very active, providing a variety of social events for the villagers to participate in every week.[53] Both churches sponsored a variety of activities meant to strengthen the family, teach the villagers about God and the Bible, and raise money to keep the church doors open. It is in these spaces in particular where the Newhaveners continually formed and adapted their own individual and collective identities with one another.[54] The churches put on annual harvest festivals, decorating their buildings with Newhaven-related items like fishing nets and small boats, and encouraged children to wear their parents' fishing industry costumes. These festivals taught everyone, especially the children, about Newhaven's history and culture. The Sunday Schools sponsored picnics and potlucks.[55] Men's and women's groups met throughout the week to pray, read the Bible, and enjoy fellowship with each other. For example, in the 1950s, the St. Andrew's Men's Club met every Sunday at 3:00, and around 200 men from the village attended. They sang songs and drank tea while listening to a featured speaker who spoke on a Christian topic, with the tea being a subtle suggestion for temperance.[56]

There were also a lot of children's groups to choose from. Sunday School attracted the most Newhavener children. Each Sunday morning, the children learned

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[52] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, May 30, 2014.
[53] Frances Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, December 7, 1993.
[54] Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Journal Workshop* 39 (Spring, 1995): 186.
[55] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[56] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 82.

about biblical principles, like how to love God and each other, from their Sunday School teachers, who then tasked the children's parents with enforcing these virtues throughout the week. Newhaven Parish Church offered the Boy's Brigade and the Girl Guides, which trained young people to live out their Christian faith in practical ways,[57] while the Boy Scouts and Girl's Guild met at Newhaven Free Church.[58] These were competing clubs designed to serve the village by passing along traditional Newhaven values to the next generation of fisher children, and they also kept the children busy for several hours, giving the children's parents some valuable free time to do other things.

With so many church-related events in one small village, it is no wonder Cathy Lighterness said that no matter whichever church's event a person attended, "it was the same folk who made your tea."[59] This saying meant that the same people attended and served at both churches' events. As we have seen, there were class divisions within Newhaven, despite the claim of total unity between all of the villagers that we have heard from the Newhaveners. Some families had fathers who worked as skippers and mothers who walked better-paying routes carrying the creel, and others did not. The churches served as a common ground for the all fisher families from all financial backgrounds to unite around a shared set of spiritual and cultural values. By providing a space for the people of Newhaven to grow spiritually in their Christian faith, Newhaven Parish Church and Newhaven Free Church served as sites of belonging that powerfully influenced and furthered Newhaven's traditions, beliefs, and culture.

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[57] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[58] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 83.
[59] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.

Many Superstitions

One more major aspect of these spiritual beliefs not yet discussed was a strong belief in the supernatural outside of the teachings of traditional Christianity, superstitions the villagers believed were necessary to protect themselves from the unseen and being "unlucky." Local historian Diana Morton told me that while the people of Newhaven were very religious, devoutly practicing their own form of Christianity, they were also very superstitious.[60] In fact, the village had a reputation around Edinburgh and nearby fishing villages for being extremely superstitious and a place full of taboos.[61]

Paul Thompson's research found that the full embrace of superstition by fishermen and their families was a universal trait among the world's fishing villages, probably due in part to a need to navigate the unpredictability of fishing.[62] These superstitions flowed from a merging of the Newhaveners' Christian beliefs with their daily lived experience, helping them to mitigate the unknown and navigate each day's choices. As Sandy Noble pointed out, most of their superstitions had a biblical basis, even if only a small one; for many of the villagers, being a good Christian also meant obeying the hundreds of rules required to successfully steer through all of Newhaven's taboos and preserve one's luck.[63]

According to the Newhaveners, in a vocation as volatile and erratic as fishing, it was especially important for the villagers to protect themselves by not doing anything "unlucky" or inviting the supernatural's wrath upon them.[64] They truly feared the

[60] Denise Brace, interview with author, Museum of Edinburgh, May 20, 2014.
[61] Marie W. Stuart, "A Newhaven Tale," *Evening Dispatch*, December 1, 1938.
[62] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 253-254.
[63] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, February 18, 1994.
[64] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 56.

"unseen" and how it might affect them.[65] In fact, the villagers "believed in it so much" that even if their friends did not share their beliefs, their friends abided by Newhaven's superstitious rules out of respect for their fisher friends.[66] Newhaven's system of superstitions and taboos can be divided into two categories: those for times at sea, and others for being on land.

Fishing has been described as "the most superstitious trade there is."[67] When a fishing boat went out to sea, the men on the ship followed a host of rules based on superstitions, all to protect their luck. The crew quickly schooled any new mates on what these rules were; as Jock Robb said, "when we were at sea on a new ship, we were told by the men that you don't do this, you don't do that, and you don't say that. They were very serious about it, no matter how ridiculous it might have sounded to us."[68] The primary sea superstitions were related to the operation of the ship while fishing, the actions of the fishermen while working, and the names the crew used on the ship when referring to animals.

Because of the biblical story of Jonah and the big fish, many fishermen believed that God watched all they did on the high seas, and how they operated their boats determined the amount of luck or success they achieved on a trip.[69] The fishermen interviewed for this dissertation shared the strict set of rules. First, as Jim Todd mentioned, a ship never sailed against the sun, and the captain had to go clockwise when turning the ship.[70] The skipper worked to sail the ship with the sun and its light, even to

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[65] Margaret Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[66] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[67] Joseph Roberts, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 9, 1991.
[68] Willie Flucker, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 21, 2014.
[69] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[70] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 41.

the point of maneuvering it into harbor to "come with the sun."[71] Jock Robb put it this way: "A trawler never turns its back on the sun." He said this because fishermen believe there is a strong connection between the sun's light and the direction of the wind.[72]

Second, because Jesus commanded his disciples on the Sea of Galilee to cast their nets over the right side of the ship in the New Testament Gospels, many fishermen only threw their nets over the starboard side. Tom Hall, who spent his entire life fishing, shared that his father never once shot his nets over portside due to this superstition; he always threw them over the starboard side.[73] Margaret Campbell shared the same story about the men in her family.[74] Finally, Newhaven's fishermen would not sail after 12:00 am on a Sunday because they believed it was bad luck to work on the Lord's Day.[75] Cathy Lighterness's grandfather believed it was wrong for Christians to fish on Sundays, so he refused to work on them, even after his competitors from other villages began to fish the entire weekend.[76] Some fisher families also thought it was unlucky to go out to sea on a Friday because it was the end of the week.[77] Because the Bible's teachings do not support the concepts of superstition and luck, especially in light of its teaching on a sovereign God, the amalgam of both Christianity and superstition practiced by the Newhaveners shows that they created their own version of unique spiritual beliefs, ones that served their needs and supported the fishing village's distinct culture.

There was also a set of rules for the crew's behavior. Whistling was incredibly unlucky and strictly forbidden; the crew feared that it brought on the wind, riling the sea

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[71] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[72] Roberts, interview with Helen Clark, March 9, 1991.
[73] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 40.
[74] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[75] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[76] Catherine Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 13, 1994.
[77] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 59.

air up against the ship.[78] A skipper would hush his crewman if the man started whistling on or around the boat, even when they were safe in the harbor.[79] Another superstition involved sweeping the deck. If a crewman touched the net while sweeping, he risked "sweeping everyone's luck overboard."[80] There were other smaller, less universally-practiced rules, but the last one that deserves mentioning was the biggest no-no for a fisherman on a ship out at sea: his usage of names.

Fisher families, and especially the fishermen themselves, believed that it was taboo to call a host of animals by their real names.[81] The list of unlucky animals was extensive: pigs, rabbits, salmon, foxes, beetles, rats, monkeys, and cockroaches were all taboo, although the reason for why some of them were unlucky was unclear, even to the Newhaveners who believed in the superstition surrounding them.[82] The fishermen used nicknames for them all, and these nicknames supposedly protected the men's luck.[83] They called pigs "curly tails"[84] and rabbits "map-maps."[85] Beetles were "bum-clocks,"[86] and rats were "long-tails."[87] Since Newhaven fishermen fished for herring, which was a silver fish, they did not want to find salmon in their nets while out at sea,[88] so they referred to salmon as "that red fish"[89] or "red felly."[90] Frances Milligan's fisher husband was so afraid of salmon's unluckiness that he forbade her from ever calling salmon by its

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[78] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 95.
[79] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[80] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 58.
[81] Stephen Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk," *Evening News*, April 16, 1994.
[82] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 58.
[83] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[84] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[85] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 41.
[86] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 95.
[87] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[88] Hugo Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them," *Scottish Daily Mail*, September 29, 1950.
[89] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[90] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 58.

real name.[91] Finally, because they feared getting it themselves, no one used the word "cancer," referring to it as "yawn" or "et" instead.[92] Where applicable, the sea superstitions applied to similar scenarios when the men were on land, such as when dealing with pigs or rabbits, although being on land also had its own set of rules for protecting one's luck.

With all of the superstitions surrounding fishing, it will come as no surprise that a trip down to the waterfront, and preparation for a fishing trip, held the most taboos in Newhaven.[93] If a fisherman encountered the minister while on his way to his fishing vessel, the fisherman would turn around and not go back out that day because it was bad luck. In fact, most fishermen did not want the minister anywhere near the harbor; mostly likely this flowed from their fear of the biblical story of Jonah. Another possible explanation for this taboo is related to taxes. In medieval Scotland, parishioners were expected to give a portion of their fish to the minister, a tax that the fishermen greatly resented.[94] This resentment reflected a common belief among the fishermen that the minister asked for too much from them in their tithes to the church. Whatever the reason, new ministers usually picked up on this superstition quickly, so they avoided the harbor area out of respect for their parishioners. Willie Flucker's father avoided the minister often. The way Willie told it, his dad would take to sail, then come back in, and Willie's mom would say, "Why are you back?" And his father would say, "I met the minister."[95]

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[91] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 40.
[92] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[93] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 58.
[94] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 94.
[95] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.

There was irony in this superstition. Skippers always asked the minister to christen a new fishing boat at the time of its launching.[96] Reverend Duncan Neilson, who pastored Newhaven Parish Church in 1950, went out on a fishing boat attempting to disprove the superstition, and even though the skipper got a huge catch that day, it did not change the minds of the villagers.[97] Fishermen were also known to turn around and not go out on the water if they encountered a black cat, a red-haired woman, or a person with a physical deformity.[98]

Staying "lucky" on land required making wise choices throughout the week, too. These choices involved greetings, matches, weekdays, colors, and even the weather. Newhaveners strongly believed in saying "good morning" to an on-comer first because the first greeter preserved their luck and took the luck from the person they just greeted. If the "unlucky" person was headed down to the harbor to go catch some fish, villagers believed that person would catch no fish that day.[99] Esther Liston witnessed this happen to her father repeatedly. He would return home if a man told him "good morning" before her father could say it to him first, stealing his luck away.[100] Sharing a match was also akin to just handing someone else your luck.[101]

Many fishermen refused to go out to sea on Friday because Jesus was crucified on Good Friday, thus making it an "unlucky" day; they waited until Saturday.[102] Fridays were seen as unlucky, except for getting married.[103] Frances Milligan's mother even

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[96] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[97] Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them."
[98] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 58.
[99] Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them."
[100] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 40.
[101] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 58.
[102] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[103] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village," *Edinburgh Evening News*, January 18, 1936.

refused to cut her nails on Fridays because of this superstition.[104] Families did not lend anything to neighbors on Mondays, either, because they were giving their luck away for the rest of the week.[105]

The villagers feared one color above the rest: green. Green was taboo because of its association with the sin of envy.[106] Frances Milligan's husband was so afraid of green that during their entire marriage he would not allow her to wear it, and nothing could convince him otherwise. Several other villagers shared that their families agreed with Mr. Milligan and avoided green at all costs.[107] Andrew Sime's grandmother even took it a step further by refusing to have green anywhere in her house because she associated it with Catholicism and greed. Andrew speculated that the fear of green flowed out an old anti-Catholic bias, since "the Catholics' color was always green."[108] The Newhaveners also believed that a red sky was a bad omen, foretelling of strong winds on the seas and storms for any fishermen who ventured out onto the waters. Mary Barker summed it up this way: "The red sky at night was the shepherds' delight; the red sky in the morning was the sailors' warning."[109]

All of the superstitions discussed so far involved what not to do and avoiding certain actions to protect good luck. There was at least one proactive action the villagers took to ward off bad luck and encourage good luck. Every New Year's Eve, Newhaven's families would thoroughly sweep and clean out their houses, moving all the bad luck of

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[104] Frances Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, November 18, 1993.
[105] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 59.
[106] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 95.
[107] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[108] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 95.
[109] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.

the past year onto the street to make room inside the house for good luck in the year to come.[110]

Not only did the people of Newhaven hold strong superstitions; they also held strong and disparate opinions about them. The general consensus among those interviewed was that most of the superstitions made no sense, at least not in today's world.[111] Frances Milligan's mother and husband have been mentioned several times already due to their fear of becoming unlucky, yet it is worth noting that Frances herself never believed the superstitions, sharing that Newhaven "had wee superstitions about certain things that were over exaggerated." The fear of the minister was especially confounding and seemingly contradictory to everyone;[112] why would a fisherman crave the minister's blessing for the christening of his ship but then fear seeing the minister on the way to that very ship any time after that?[113] Disagreement within families over which superstitions to follow also led to conflict. Cathy Lighterness's grandfather had a falling out with his family over the fear of fishing on Sunday. When his family began to fish on Sundays, he refused, citing Sunday as the Lord's Day, and this lost him his fishing job and sent him to work the dredgers in the docks.[114]

Newhaven had a reputation around Edinburgh for being very religious and very superstitious. Superstition helped the religious villagers cope with the dangers of working at sea and the everyday experiences of their lives.[115] There was no discrepancy in their minds between their superstition and strong Christian faith, even though they

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[110] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 93.
[111] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[112] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[113] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 94.
[114] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[115] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 40.

seem contradictory. The superstitions also cost them economically on days they did not go out to sea for fear of bad luck. When the fishermen turned around and went back home, they engaged in a variety of activities, from land-based fishing work like repairing nets to taking naps and getting more rest.[116] As Tom McGowran noted, many superstitions were rooted in biblical stories or teachings, but most were simply the Newhaveners attempt to "bring order out of chaos, to reduce a world full of danger and doubt to an understandable and controllable unity."[117]

The Importance of Order

Newhaveners craved unity because of their strong belief in the need for order, which formed the second strong tenet of the Newhaven belief system. Order provided structure and certainty that grounded the villagers in the midst of their daily lived experience as fisher people. Due in part to their secret fraternal societies, like the Scottish Rite or the Freemasons, the Scottish are known for their love of hierarchy and order, and Newhaven was a place of order. As a fishing village that depended on the vagaries of nature for work, sustenance, and meaning, Newhaven's people responded to the great unknowns they faced by instituting rules and processes that enhanced their control and predictability, routine, and success. This system governed daily life, and the villagers expected everyone to follow it.

In order to protect their beloved Newhaven and its unique way-of-life, the Newhaveners created two institutions to serve as its guardians, the Society of Free Fishermen and the Victoria Primary School. The Society governed fishing and ensured there would always be fish to catch, and the School created new generations of fishermen

[116] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[117] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 60.

and fishwives who knew how a fishing village worked and their place in it. Both served as influential sites of belonging in the community where villagers formed and adapted their individual and collective identities as fisher people.

The "Curious Old Friendly Society of Newhaven"[118]

The Society of Free Fishermen preceded any other institution or organization in Newhaven. The fishermen of Newhaven created the Society of Free Fishermen, or as they called it, "the Society," at some point during the sixteenth century to look after the needs of Newhaven's fisher families,[119] but the exact date of its founding is unknown, as was its original intended purpose for coming into being.[120] As a fraternal organization, the Society "itself was unique in the region, as most fishermen, here as elsewhere, were fiercely individualistic."[121]

The Society was suspected of having Flemish origins due to the guilds common among the Flemish people and the similar structure the Society adopted from those guilds.[122] Some Society members believed their ancestors formed the fraternal order to fill the governmental void left by King James IV's abandoning of Newhaven after he built the *Great Michael*.[123] Others believed that the men of Newhaven created the Society in response to the Church of Scotland's refusal to meet the needs of Newhaven's poor in the sixteenth century.[124] This relationship later improved in 1679 when the Kirk

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[118] John Herries McCulloch, "These Fishermen Fight for Freedom," *Scottish Sunday Express*, September 22, 1940.

[119] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 160.

[120] James Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, ed. Robin Black (Glasgow: M'Naughtan & Sinclair, L.T.D., 1951), 9.

[121] T.C. Smout, "Garrett Hardin, The Tragedy of the Commons and the Firth of Forth," *Environment and History* 17, no. 3 (August 2011): 368.

[122] H.M., "Our Lady's Port of Grace," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 4, 1950.

[123] George Garson, "Two Sea Dogs With a Mission of Honour," *Evening News*, January 23, 1988.

[124] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*, June 3, 1989.

of North Leith entered into a bond agreement with the Society that coordinated efforts to care for Newhaven's neediest families.[125] Two facts are certain: the Society's records date back to 1512,[126] and King James VI gave the Society an official charter in 1573, confirming its incorporation.[127] Uncertainty about its origins is why the Society's members refer to their organization's age as being "time Immemorial," a reference to the motto on the Society's flag.[128]

The Society of Free Fishermen's primary mission was to help care for Newhaven's poor.[129] Since fishing's unpredictability could quickly bankrupt a fisher family or even take the lives of their men, the "simple charity" the Society attempted to provide in a simple insurance plan, including benefits, funeral allowances, and small pensions for widows, gave Newhaven's families a modicum of insurance against hard times or the unexpected.[130] This "cooperative insurance" program gave villagers peace of mind should the worst ever happen; fishermen knew their families would be able to survive without them on a Society pension.[131] By 1928, the Society provided a funeral allowance for members and a death benefit for widows, as well as five shillings a week for up to 12 weeks for members in times of sickness when they could not work.[132] At retirement, members received eight shillings every month and a special Christmas gift based on how well the Society's finances had fared that year.[133] James Wilson believed

[125] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 15.
[126] McCulloch, "These Fishermen Fight for Freedom."
[127] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 203.
[128] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 7.
[129] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 205.
[130] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 13.
[131] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*.
[132] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 42.
[133] Ibid., 43.

that the Society did a much better job of caring for Newhaveners than the parish, and his friends, all members of the fraternal order along with him, agreed with him.[134]

The second purpose of the Society was to protect the rights and privileges of its fishermen members.[135] By 1928, the Society had spent four centuries fighting with outsiders who ranged from Edinburgh's leaders to fishermen from other fishing villages to ensure that Newhaven's fishermen's traditional fishing waters, which lay between Green Scalp of Inchkeith to Leith's Black Rocks, belonged solely to them.[136] The Society also fought to defend its members' right to harvest oyster scalps all around the Forth. Centuries of battling to defend Newhaven's fishing freedoms and its fisher people led columnist John Hurries McCullough to describe the Society as "the oldest and most exclusive trade union in Great Britain."[137] Over the years, the leaders of the Society argued that God gave the people of Newhaven the fertile waters of the Forth to work and make a living on, and He equipped them with the skills, knowledge, and hard work to do it.[138] This pride in their collective history and culture was represented throughout the entire organization.

(Fisher)Men Only

The Constitution of the Society of Free Fishermen laid out the rules, requirements, and processes for Newhaven's fraternal order. From its inception, only men above the age of 13 were allowed to join; no women were ever members.[139] Before

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[134] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 15.

[135] Alex Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'," *Weekly Scotsman*, July 11, 1936.

[136] Malcolm Archibald, "Salty Tales of a Life on the Ocean Wave," in "Villages of the Forth," *Evening News*, December 3, 1988.

[137] McCulloch, "These Fishermen Fight for Freedom."

[138] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 7.

[139] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 32.

1817, any fisherman in Newhaven could join, but the Society grew too large. So the members altered the constitution by passing a new rule that limited membership to the "the lawful sons of fishermen whose names were clear on the books."[140] This rule created a membership in which membership passed from father to son, not mother to son, reinforcing patriarchal norms. The sons of member's daughters (i.e. the member's grandsons) could only join if their fathers were also members.[141] It also prevented "strangers" from joining and kept the leadership of the Society within Newhaven.[142] Newhaven fishermen who served as full members in the Society of Free Fishermen carried this distinction with great pride, and it earned them more respect in the village. Members of the Society enjoyed higher status than non-members in Newhaven's social hierarchy.[143]

The constitution set up a system of governance to lead the order. A Boxmaster would oversee all funds; a Preses would preside over meetings, and a General Committee would vote on major decisions facing the Society. The only woman allowed in the Society was the secretary, but she did not enjoy membership rights. All officers served one-year terms, from November to November, with their annual election occurring on Newhaven's annual festival of Gala Day.[144] Originally, meetings occurred at the house of the current Boxmaster,[145] but this changed in 1877 when the Society renovated an old school on Main Street and transformed it into Fishermen's Hall a year later.[146] In the

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[140] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 160.
[141] McCulloch, "These Fishermen Fight for Freedom."
[142] J.M. Russell, "How is Newhaven?," *The Scots Magazine* (March 1976), 627.
[143] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[144] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[145] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 160.
[146] Joyce Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 142.

twentieth century, the Society met Wednesday evenings from 6:30-7:30. The Boxmaster kept the Auld Box, which was the name for the box the members put their subscriptions in annually.[147]

To pay for its operations and "cooperative insurance" program, the Society charged annual membership dues until a member reached the age of 65.[148] Members could pay their dues on a weekly, monthly, or annual basis, so long as they paid the amount required (which grew with inflation over the centuries); in 1928, it was 13 shillings.[149] The Society also derived funding from public donations, extravaganzas, and rent income from local Society-owned properties in the village.[150] It made regular requests to the public for support, including having members stand in the center of the village at the foot of the Whale Brae holding a pewter plate with a sign next to them that read, "Please remember the poor of Newhaven." While Newhaven's churches did offer help for the village's poor through donations of food, and sometimes money, the Society ran its needs program to fill in the perceived gap between what the churches offered and what the Society's members thought they should offer to Newhaven's poorest families, especially in light of the pew tithes they had to pay to worship there.[151]

The Ruling Elders

The Society of Free Fishermen held such influence and authority in the village that it served as a sort of de facto town council until the middle of the nineteenth century. The City of Edinburgh's leaders general lack of interest in the village during the first

[147] John K. Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, Newhaven, March 8, 1994.
[148] McCulloch, "These Fishermen Fight for Freedom."
[149] Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, March 8, 1994.
[150] Newhaven Action Group, *Newhaven: A Centre for Heritage*, 3.
[151] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 15.

three centuries of its existence created a political vacuum, and the fishermen of the Society were happy to fill it and make political decisions on behalf of the village. The expansion of the Society's role in the village began with the need to coordinate burials. It owned the land that became the village's cemetery in the seventeenth century, so the Society's authority grew over the villagers because they had to come to it to bury their dead. When the villagers encountered a need that the Edinburgh Town Council neglected, they turned to the Society for help.[152] In time, the Society cleaned the streets, bought and sold property within the village to pay for its programs, built roads and sidewalks, maintained Newhaven Harbor and Fisherman's Park, provided for the poor, opened Victoria Primary School, settled disagreements between fisher families, and defended Newhaven's fishermen's traditional rights to fishing and oyster harvesting in the Forth.[153]

The Society lost authority as a de facto Newhaven town council in 1848 when the Edinburgh Corporation reclaimed its authority as the ruling body of Newhaven.[154] The rise of school boards and Edinburgh city taxes for street upkeep forced the Society to transition from its town council role to focusing solely on serving as Newhaven's political protector and helping beleaguered fisher families.[155] Frequent clashes with the City of Edinburgh's leaders or fishermen from other fishing villages necessitated a strong response from Newhaven in order to secure its traditional fishing and oyster-harvesting rights, so the Society began leading all legal defenses for the village in these areas.[156] In

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[152] Ibid., 13.
[153] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 42.
[154] Our Special Correspondent, "Newhaven's Society of Free Fishermen," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 21, 1961.
[155] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 215.
[156] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 13.

no circumstance was this more apparent than the conflicts over the Firth of Forth's oysters.

Oyster Battles

Chapter 1 briefly discussed the frequent battles the people of Newhaven had with the City of Edinburgh over who could claim ownership of the Forth's oyster beds, but further elucidation is necessary for us to fully understand the importance of the Society of Free Fishermen to Newhaven's community. The Forth's oyster beds were among the best in Europe,[157] so the Society spent much of its energies defending the traditional rights of Newhaven fishermen to harvest these grounds, which served as a major source of income for the village's fisher families.[158] The battle for control over these areas involved legal disputes and physical violence over the course of 300 years. Since the discovery of the oyster beds, the Society had traditionally been responsible for maintaining them and ensuring they were never over-harvested.[159] The Society also gave quotas to fishermen to ensure that everyone was given a fair share of oysters to harvest and sell.

Ultimately, the Edinburgh Corporation claimed ownership of the "City Scalps," oyster beds which were the same beds under the Society's charge.[160] There was constant bickering and, in the opinion of the Newhaveners, lack of good faith shown by the Edinburgh Corporation towards Newhaven's fishermen. James Wilson, the last Boxmaster, described the relationship between the Society and the Edinburgh Town

[157] Ibid., 84.
[158] Ibid., 60.
[159] Newhaven Action Group, *Newhaven: A Centre for Heritage*, 3.
[160] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 60.

Council as one of "constant irritation and perplexity."[161] It was an appropriate description.

The Society of Free Fishermen's position on the City Scalps was simple: they possessed exclusive rights to the oysters by matter of tradition because they were there dredging the oysters first. In response, the Edinburgh Corporation passed a multitude of ordinances regarding the oysters to assert control and push back against Newhaven's claim, as well as poachers from other Forth fishing villages. This included ordinances passed in 1663, 1664, 1668, 1689, 1694, 1695, 1697, 1742, 1786, 1788, and 1790.[162] The Board of Admiralty's 1791 inquiry into the rightful ownership of the oyster grounds strengthened the Society's position by ruling in favor of Newhaven and the Society's governance of these areas, but because the Admiralty also maintained that the Edinburgh Corporation owned the grounds, the split decision set up another century of disputes between the Corporation and the Society.[163]

The legal battle over the oysters peaked in 1868. Using an 1845 decision by the Court of Admiralty that had reaffirmed its own 1791 decision awarding the right to regulate the beds solely to the Society of Free Fishermen as its legal basis,[164] the Edinburgh Corporation served a summons to every member of the Society on November 21, 1868, instructing them to appear before a Court of Session a week later. At that session, the Corporation moved to overturn and invalidate all previous legal judgments

[161] Ibid., 63.
[162] Ibid., 60.
[163] Ibid., 62.
[164] Ibid., 64.

supporting the Society's claim to the oysters. To the Newhaveners' dismay, the Court ruled in the Corporation's favor.[165]

The Corporation began issuing new fees and processes for the Newhaven fishermen to use when harvesting the scalps, and the Society responded by asking if a deal could be made that satisfied all parties. In June 1870, the Edinburgh Town Council offered the Society a 50-year lease complete with a collection of new fees, and the Society agreed. That same year, to prevent further conflict, the Board of Trade specifically defined the geographical location of each party's oyster beds.[166] As Chapter 1 discussed, the destruction unleashed by George Clark's abuse of the oysters in 1839 eventually led to the final destruction of the oyster beds, and Newhaven's fisher families lost a significant and long-standing source of income.

The Rapid Oars

Despite ongoing political and legal battles with Edinburgh's leaders, the Society never wavered in its commitment to improving the lives of Newhaven's fisher families, and its political and leadership capital was common knowledge around Scotland, especially among Scotland's fraternal orders.[167] Several key events over the last two centuries illuminate this dynamic. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Scottish Admiralty called upon the fishermen of Newhaven several times to man Britain's warships while fighting the French under Napoleon.[168] In 1796, the county government of Mid-Lothian (the county of Edinburgh) awarded the entire village of Newhaven a large silver medallion bearing an inscription commending the village for its great loyalty and faithful

[165] Ibid., 67-68.
[166] Ibid., 73.
[167] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*.
[168] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 38-39.

service in defending Scotland from foreign invasion over the years. The flip side of the medal contained the Scottish thistle and the motto, *Agmini remorum celeri*.[169] The medal hung on a large silver chain, and only the Boxmaster of the Society was allowed to wear it as the Society's official insignia during the fraternal order's meetings.[170]

In October 1869, the Leith Collector of Customs warned all Newhaven fishermen of the need to mark their boats with an identification number; the Collector used the Society to implement this new regulation.[171] The Society successfully renovated Newhaven Harbor, and then it threw a large party celebrating the lighting of the new lighthouse for the first time upon its completion in 1879.[172] During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Society worked to protect its fishermen from the growing trawler industry.[173] In 1896, the village celebrated the centennial of the Boxmaster's medallion by lining the village streets with bunting and flags. Finally, in 1912, the Society of Free Fishermen registered under the Scottish Friendly Societies Act, achieving the official recognition from the British government that it had enjoyed from its own people for centuries.[174]

The Society of Free Fishermen was a "brotherhood" of fishermen who stepped into the political void left by the Edinburgh Corporation's disinterest in Newhaven.[175] The protective nature of the Society, and its repeated attempts to fight for its members' interests and their families' needs, demonstrates how Newhaveners found solutions to

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[169] This means "rapid oars," which refers to Newhaven's fishermen's haste to join a naval battle and dependability in a fight.

[170] "Loyal Newhaven," Leith Burghs Pilot, November 28, 1896.

[171] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 96.

[172] Ibid.,110.

[173] Our Special Correspondent, "Newhaven's Society of Free Fishermen."

[174] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 91.

[175] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*.

their common problems. By 1928, Newhaveners and the Edinburgh local media agreed that the Society had faithfully executed this task for four centuries.

Victoria Primary School

One of the most important decisions the Society made in its long history was to build a school to prepare new generations of Newhaveners for the challenging lives ahead of them. This school, which eventually became the Victoria Primary School, protected, formed, and influenced village culture and community. Five schools existed in some form in Newhaven during the nineteenth century, but Victoria Primary School, which the Society of Free Fishermen founded in 1844,[176] outlasted them all.[177] Victoria Primary School educated many generations of Newhaven children, and by 1928, its excellent reputation was well-known throughout Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian.[178] The School provided a common, safe space for Newhaven children to learn about three things: the world around them, the demands of fishing and its rules for surviving, and how they were expected to take their parents' places when the time came.[179] In other words, the School maintained and preserved order in the village, ensuring the continuation of the Newhaven fisher way-of-life.

The Newhaveners' memories of attending the School were generally positive, and media accounts of the school over the years supported these recollections.[180] To borrow a naval cliché appropriate for a fishing village like Newhaven, the Headmaster "ran a tight ship" by keeping orderly, respectful classrooms of pupils.[181] All of the children, no

[176] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 166.
[177] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 213.
[178] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 167.
[179] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1994.
[180] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[181] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 632.

matter what income level of family they came from, played on the same playground. The Headmaster and faculty did this purposely to teach the children about the importance of community and being "all in it together," a subtle recognition of the class dynamics in Newhaven.[182] Few families in Newhaven had much money to spare, so students did not have to wear uniforms since that would have been an extra expense for the fisher families.[183] The school also provided free meals for students "when times were bad," and many of the fisher children required help with getting proper winter attire, like so-called "charity boots," each year. While charity did not go over well in a village that believed so strongly in the virtue of work, many families needed the help and accepted it reluctantly.[184]

Victoria Primary School's attendance grew over time due to growth in the village and the 1874 takeover of the school by the Leith School Board. That year, the School had 130 placements for students,[185] and it grew to 226 just a decade later.[186] By 1928, approximately 400 students attended Victoria Primary School.[187] Students started their day after breakfast and then finished in mid-afternoon. Once they entered middle school, the teachers separated the genders because they believed this strengthened order and discouraged bad behavior. It also allowed the faculty to tailor their lectures for gender-specific expectations, knowledge, and skill sets.[188] A lot of Newhaveners stopped

[182] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth: My Story of a Living Village* (Millom: Regentlane Publishing, 1998), 130.
[183] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, Newhaven, March 4, 1994.
[184] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 133.
[185] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 166.
[186] F.H. Groome, "Newhaven," *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1882, 5.
[187] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[188] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 131.

attending as teenagers because their families needed extra income, so they dropped out to go to work.[189]

In a fishing village that depended upon the unpredictability of nature for its profession, the Newhaveners emphasized a need for order as a grounding response to the forces beyond their control that surrounded them. The Society of Free Fishermen and Victoria Primary School served as powerful sites of belonging that fostered Newhavener identity, both individually and collectively. The former provided a space for Newhaven's fishermen to talk about their work and lives, growing their communal bonds and finding best practices that promoted peace within the village and served the best interests of Newhaven's inhabitants. In time, the Society became the voice of the village to outsiders, and it maintained order by fighting anyone who threatened Newhaven's way-of-life, both internally and externally. Victoria Primary School complemented the Society's work by teaching new generations of Newhaveners and preparing them for fisher people's work. It maintained order by passing along Newhaven's history and communal values on to the village's children, ensuring the continuity of their way-of-life. It was in the arena of daily life that each generation of Newhaven children received the rest of their education about what it meant to be a Newhavener.

Bow-Tows and Braggart Strangers

The third major tenet of the Newhavener belief system was a strong belief in the importance of family and community. Newhaven was a small place, and most of the villagers were related to one another in some form or fashion. They valued family, belonging, and the community that flowed out of "doing life" with your neighbors for

[189] Ian Smith, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

three main reasons. First, it was the context within which most of their daily lived experience occurred. Second, it served as a generally positive force of protection and security against the dangers of fishing. And finally, their strong community gave them a place to belong in the face of the marginalization they experienced from people outside the village. Of course, families of all kinds lived in Newhaven, ranging from loving and wonderful to broken and uncaring and everything in between, yet today's Newhaveners mostly remember their youth with fondness, especially the times they spent with their mothers and grandmothers.[190]

Living so close together in tight spaces, the fisher families of Newhaven created a place filled with a host of customs and daily rituals that made Newhaven so special and complex. It took newcomers at least a year to learn all of Newhaven's ways, and another year to become familiar with all of the village's families and their relations with each other, of which there were many. One of the first things newcomers learned was that Newhaven's reputation for being an insular fishing village was true, as evidenced by the names the villagers called themselves and gave to outsiders.

The people of Newhaven called those from outside the village "Braggart Strangers,"[191] and in return, outsiders called the Newhaveners "Bow-Tows."[192] A "Braggart Stranger" was a person who dared to move into the village or do work inside the village but lived somewhere else. It was not uncommon for new folk to move to Newhaven, but they were not easily welcomed. Newhavener interviewees who had ancestors move into the village shared stories of how their relatives worked to acclimate

[190] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 18, 1994.
[191] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 14.
[192] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 2.

themselves and be accepted by the Bow-Tows, shedding their Braggart Stranger status. In fact, several of the transcriptions contain instances where the interviewees said things like, "I'm not a real Bow-Tow,"[193] or "The only Bow-Tow in my family was (the name of their relative)."[194] The reason for this: to be an authentic Bow-Tow, both a person's mother and father had to originally be from Newhaven.[195] George Liston illuminated this dynamic when he mentioned his friend Walter Lyle, saying, "Walter lived here his entire life, but he was still regarded as an outsider" because his family moved to Newhaven when he was young.[196]

So what was a Bow-Tow? The answer is not completely clear due to differing versions of the story, but two main explanations were usually given. Tom Hall believed that the term originally referred to a husband and wife working as a team. The husband was the "bow," or buoy/float, who caught the fish; and she was the "tow," or rope, who sold the fish, maintained the nets and baited the hooks. They were united together, and only their teamwork could help them succeed in Newhaven life.[197] The other explanation was simpler: Bow-Tow refers to tying a rope from the bow to the stern of the ship.[198] Local historian Tom McGowran wrote that it was a pejorative used by those from Edinburgh, meaning that the villagers of Newhaven "lived below town," but no one else corroborated this story.[199]

Since the Newhaveners experienced marginalization through name-calling and other means when they left the village, why would they then, in turn, marginalize those

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[193] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[194] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[195] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[196] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 102.
[197] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 14.
[198] "Fishy Tale of Tea Leaves," *Evening News*, August 14, 1999.
[199] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 67.

who moved into Newhaven to live and work among them with their own set of pejoratives? It is possible the Newhaveners used nicknames as a means of control over their own space. Naming, and the identification that comes with it, plays a significant part in the dynamics of power relationships; a person's name is connected to their experiences and the descriptors others associate with that name.[200] Newhaveners could not control the weather, the Edinburgh Corporation's behavior, or the actions of those outsiders who traded with the villagers, but they could protect their insular dynamic by placing potential cultural threats, in the form of incomers, in social spaces they controlled. In other words, the villagers chose where an incomer landed in the village hierarchy, and then they decided when the incomer had earned acceptance into the community, generally once the villagers saw that the incomer understood and supported the Newhaven way-of-life.[201]

Whatever the original reason, the name Bow-Tow stuck, and it entered into everyday use, including in local media accounts of ongoings in Newhaven.[202] Interestingly, Margaret Campbell and a few others argued that Newhaveners never referred to themselves as Bow-Tow's, but most of the interviewees did use this nickname about themselves.[203] Bow-Tow was just one of many nicknames utilized in the village. In fact, using nicknames was quite common and expedient.

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[200] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 201-202.

[201] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

[202] Sophia Abrahamsen, interview with author, Newhaven, August 8, 2013.

[203] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.

Where "Everyone's Yer' Aunty"[204]

One of the reasons why it took so long for newcomers to acclimate to Newhaven was because of the prolific use of nicknames. The villagers used nicknames for one another as a way to identify a person and lower the confusion caused by such a small number of surnames in the village and the high rate of intermarriage between Newhaven's families.[205] Rena Barnes, Mina Ritchie, and several others talked about how "everyone" had a nickname, or as the Newhaveners called it, a "by-name."[206] These nicknames varied from being derogatory, affectionate, familial, or practical because they were being used to differentiate one family member from another.[207] Some nicknames were "unrepeatable" in polite society, while others were terms of endearment.[208] The nickname usually came through the family, relating to a person's special trait or a specific experience from his or her past.[209]

The very specific naming rules used by Newhaven's fisher families also added to the need for nicknames. Parents named their first son after his paternal grandfather, with the second son being named after his grandfather on his mother's side. The third son received his father's name.[210] The oldest daughter received her maternal grandmother's name. The parents named their second daughter after her father's mother, with a third daughter receiving her mother's name. If a fourth son or daughter arrived, the parents were allowed to choose any name they wanted. If a child died, it was deemed unlucky,

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[204] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 8.
[205] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 152.
[206] Mary Kay and Mina Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 17, 1994.
[207] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 68.
[208] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[209] Kitty Banyards and Esther Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[210] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 68.

and his or her name was not reused.[211] Because of the combination of intermarriage and Newhaven's naming rules, even though the village was small, there were a lot of people who shared the same name, so nicknames helped distinguish the villagers from one another.[212] Examples of nicknames included Auld Currish, Maggie Pie, Carnie Bunner, Nellie Noellie, Tam Happy, Easter Puff, Sandy Towie, Auld Tiger, Tam Soop, and Wee Caustle.[213] These names were used so often that it was not uncommon for a friend to not know his neighbor's real name until someone told him otherwise.[214]

According to George Hackland, the villagers rarely referred to Newhaven's women by their nicknames; instead people called them by their maiden names.[215] Combining surnames with maiden names reduced confusion, so much so that the men would sign documents with their name followed by their wives' maiden name in parentheses to distinguish themselves from other men with the same name. Over the centuries, the most common names in Newhaven that grew to prominence were Carnie, Combe, Dryburgh, Flucker, Linton, Liston, Logan, Lyle, Noble, Ramsay, Rutherford, Seaton, Watson, Wilson, and Young.[216] Newhaveners also called each other by affectionate terms like "aunty," "uncle," "mommy," or daddy," even if they were not closely related.[217] This reflected the tight-knit community that surrounded them. Only people from outside the village were referred to as "mister" or "misses."[218]

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[211] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[212] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[213] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 17.
[214] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[215] George Hackland, interview with John Mackie, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[216] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 17.
[217] Edwards et al, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.
[218] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 67.

The "everyone's yer' aunty" dynamic was easily the most beloved characteristic of Newhaven by those who grew up there, and as such, it is the one most fraught with nostalgic influence and myth.[219] Over and over, the Newhaveners fondly referred to the strong sense of community and closeness, saying things like, "In Newhaven at that time, everybody knew everybody,"[220] and, "People pulled together… it was for survival, and you were all working for a common cause."[221] The Newhaveners were adamant in their interviews that villagers felt a shared responsibility to help each other out in all aspects of life.[222] For George Hackland, this was because "we were all together," just trying to survive the fishing life and the harsh demands of the fishing profession. He argued that the "heart" of Newhaven was "its strong sense of community."[223] Sandy Noble put it this way: "When Old Newhaven existed, everyone knew each other and helped each other," showing a "gentle concern" for their fellow man. Then he specifically referred to how the villagers would help a family when tragedy struck, giving the bereaved family what they could spare.[224] Rena Barnes simply said, "It was wonderful in Newhaven then."[225] Margaret Campbell also loved the closeness, and she shared that while everyone knew everyone else's business, probably more than they should, that was just the way it was in a small place like Newhaven.[226]

From the myriad accounts of the Newhaveners, as well as a handful of the local media sources and outsider visits who referenced the villagers' unity and support for one

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[219] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 8.
[220] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[221] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, April 14, 1995.
[222] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[223] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[224] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[225] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 228.
[226] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.

another, it seems true and mostly accurate that the people of Newhaven held the value of loving one's neighbor as a core virtue of the village; it makes sense that it flowed out of their fundamental value of belonging. The Newhaveners shared a variety of examples where they personally received support from family members or neighbors during a difficult time, so we know that acts of charity commonly occurred in Newhaven. However, any student of human nature knows that people are complex, always changing, and often selfish, usually putting their needs first. It is almost impossible to believe that every single Newhavener, without exception, over four hundred years lived by the Golden Rule at all times, and I do not. In a village of people working in a challenging profession who constantly wrestled with generational poverty and outsider marginalization, we can surmise that some of the Newhaveners did not put others first because they had no extra to give, personally and financially. Since we are taught at a young age to talk about the best, most positive aspects of things in our lives, maybe that explains why the Newhaveners glossed over the stories of the village's malcontents, people we know were there but are not hearing about in the Newhaveners' recollections.

Local media accounts took note of the strong communal bonds as well, describing Newhaven as being "a close-knit community, distinct from the surrounding area"[227] and a village of people who preferred to keep to themselves.[228] When a local reporter interviewed Tony Crolla, the Italian incomer to Newhaven who owned an ice cream shop, late in his life about his time in Newhaven, he reminisced about how busy Newhaven used to be and how everyone knew everyone else, lamenting that times had

[227] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 14.
[228] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*, May 10, 1938.

changed.[229] The villagers liked to keep to themselves, even to the point of detesting leaving the village very often, especially for work.[230] As Frances Milligan said, "we were a large family," and as such, they created their own unique customs and daily routines that provided for their needs, attempted to keep the peace between families, and made life more enjoyable.[231]

"They Were Slums, But We Weren't Slummy"[232]

By 1928, Newhaven's villagers lived in a rich culture that had been continually created and re-formed by their ancestors over four hundred years, a dynamic one that the Newhaveners of 1928 were crafting and shaping as well. At its center, the villagers lived in a "knowable community" where they belonged and understood what their place was in the grand order of things through the influence of their families, friends, and the village's sites of belonging, like St. Andrews Church or Victoria Primary School.[233] Referring to the many fishing villages he studied over the years, Paul Thompson described fishing culture as having a strong "sense of common identity to which all wish to hold… it is this combination of both community and individualism which lies at the heart of [their] social consciousness."[234]

When the villagers finished working at their fishing jobs, they spent their extra time living in their Flemish-style homes and doing a variety of things that ranged from household work to fun leisure activities, and they usually did them together as a community. Newhaven's spaces, both inside and out, were centers of work, family, and

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[229] Roland Mann, "A Community That Won't Die," *Evening News*, March 29, 1985.
[230] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.
[231] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, December 7, 1993.
[232] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, June 11, 2014.
[233] Raymond Williams, *The Country & the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 181.
[234] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 252-253.

community life.[235] If outsiders chose to walk through Newhaven in 1928 on a typical day, what would they see people doing, and why were they doing these things? Outsiders would witness a busy, bustling village full of industrious people trying to get their personal and household tasks done, work based on the communal values the village held collectively. While enduring their own version of poverty or poverty-like conditions, one value the Newhaveners strongly believed in was taking pride in what a person owned.

One of the common refrains the Newhaveners shared about their homes was, "They were slums, but we weren't slummy."[236] This quote referred to the fact that many of the homes were older, had no electricity, shared outside toilets, had a lot of people living inside of them, but in the Newhaveners' opinion, were well-kept by their owners. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the Edinburgh Corporation did not agree. As fisher families without much to spare, they did not own a lot of things, but the people of Newhaven took great pride in what they did have. This was a common fisher trait: living in poverty, or close to poverty, but taking great care of what they possessed.[237] Meg Carnie put it this way: "We were thrifty," and "no one" was destitute, even though they did not have much extra at the end of the week.[238]

Most Newhaven families lived in a small home called a "room and kitchen,"[239] which meant a house with two rooms, a bedroom and a kitchen, with a toilet outside they shared with the family next door.[240] Mary Craig grew up in one of these in a house in

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[235] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 14.
[236] Lighterness, interview with author, June 11, 2014.
[237] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 119-120.
[238] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 102.
[239] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[240] Catherine Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 20, 2015.

Annfield; she and her sister slept in a bed recess in the kitchen, and her brother slept in her parents' bedroom.[241] Margaret Campbell's and Jim Wilson's houses were designed the same way.[242] A single family could have nine or 10 people living in one or two rooms, and that was quite common.[243] According to Jim and his childhood friend Margaret Dick, "Everybody lived like that, so you never felt different." They just accepted it because they had other point of comparison.[244] Of course, we know that not everyone "lived like that." Some of the homes further up the hill near Trinity, the ones occupied by the skippers and ship owners, had more space because those families could afford nicer accommodations.[245]

Some Newhaven homes were more spacious or located in a "better" part of the village. Cathy Lighterness's home had a little more space inside. It was called a "through and through." The house had a room in the front; then "half down the middle [a hallway], then a room in the back." It also had an attic, with a full-sized window and fireplace, which was meant to be lived in as a room. Her family could fit three double beds up in the attic because it ran the whole length of the house. Cathy lived there with her mother, father, uncle, granny, sister, and one cousin.[246] Christine Ramsay Johnston and her family lived in Starbank, which the villagers saw as being "snootier" because the homes were larger and close to Trinity.[247]

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[241] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 14.
[242] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[243] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[244] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[245] Lighterness, interview with author, June 11, 2014.
[246] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[247] Christine Ramsay Johnston and James Johnston, interview with author, Boise, July 7, 2015.

With small spaces and no electricity, the villagers did the best they could with the space provided. They kept their houses warm by running fires all day long, some in fire places and others in stoves.[248] Kettles hung over one side of the fire or sat on the stove at all times, heating water for tea or baths.[249] No electricity meant no refrigeration, so families kept their food in the coldest place in the house: the attic stairway near the roof.[250] Lighting came from gas light.[251] The kitchen table sat at the center of the kitchen, and the whole family sat down together to eat dinner when the family's father came home.[252] No one slept by themselves;[253] they slept in close proximity with family members, with boys and girls put as far away as possible from each other. In such small spaces, keeping the genders apart was not easy, especially as children began to mature into teenagers, but the families attempted to keep the boys and girls in private spaces with their same sex.[254] Jim Park's house had three iron beds: one for his folks, one for his three sisters, and one for his three brothers and himself.[255]

The worst part of the arrangement was the outdoor shared toilet. While the occasional home had an in-house bathroom, like George Hackland's,[256] most families shared an outside toilet with up to three other families.[257] Doors were not locked because the villagers felt Newhaven was so safe, a point of great pride among many of the

[248] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Debbie Dickson, Catherine Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.
[251] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 3.
[252] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[253] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 104.
[254] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[255] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 9.
[256] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.
[257] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.

interviewees; this was the essence of a true community, according to Jim Wilson.[258] It was simple living, and even though the Newhaveners did not miss their old living conditions, they remembered these times with fondness.[259] In a modern era where we yearn for "simpler times," perhaps that was the appeal of the past for the Newhaveners.[260] Also, a common Newhaven value was to make the best of a situation, even in the midst of poverty.

Taking pride in one's possessions meant keeping them clean, so the people of Newhaven had a reputation around Edinburgh for being very "houseproud."[261] In fact, many interviewees described members of their families this way. Margaret Campbell said her grandparents were "very houseproud… very."[262] Cathy Lighterness shared that her family had no money but a lot of pride in their home, saying, "It was all we had."[263] Betty Hepburn mentioned that her mother and mother-in-law both held a very high standard for cleanliness: "You had to keep the house spotless, scrupulously clean!" Even after Betty married, she returned home every day to help her mother clean her front stairs.[264]

Because of the pride the villagers took in keeping their homes clean, Newhaven became known locally for its "clean and cosy" little houses, where the fisher families hung fancy decorations in the windows, kept their doorknobs shiny and curtains sparkling white, and swept their stairs daily.[265] The *Edinburgh Evening News* mentioned the most

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[258] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[259] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[260] Williams, *The Country & the City*, 180.
[261] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[262] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[263] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[264] Betty Hepburn and Joan Williamson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, 1993.
[265] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*.

important chores Newhaven's fisher families performed, usually on a daily basis. Throughout the week, "everything was scrubbed to death: if you stood still, you would be scrubbed along with them." While the men might pitch in, as a land-based task, the villagers considered chores to fall into the sphere of the fishwives, so the Newhaveners assigned the task of cleaning to the women of the village. These chores included cleaning tables, chair, floors, windows, and stairs.[266] Newhaveners kept their homes clean, especially the front of the houses, as a way to hide the poor state of the facilities inside. It is also possible that since the villagers were generally poor and Newhaven constantly smelled of fish, the Newhaveners felt the need to keep everything clean so that they could lessen any criticism of their way-of-life from outsiders, especially those who saw the villagers as being lower class.

Newhaveners also prioritized frequently cleaning their stairs due to a by-law issued by the Society of Free Fishermen.[267] The Society wanted everyone to keep their homes looking as attractive as possible, and because the stairs served as the entrance into most Newhaven houses, the Society put a strong emphasis on keeping them clean. Christine Ramsay Johnston's husband James flew to Edinburgh unexpectedly to see her while she stayed with her mother, Ann Ramsay, in Newhaven. When James walked up to his mother-in-law's house, she was sitting there scrubbing her outside steps. She looked up at him, completely surprised, and said, "Jim??" To which he replied, "Mother?" He never forgot about how faithful she was in keeping the steps in her stairs clean.[268] Jane Nadel-Klein's research found that the importance of cleaning the front steps was a

[266] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 226.
[267] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[268] Christine Ramsay Johnston and James Johnston, interview with author, Boise, July 8, 2015.

common practice among Scotland's fishing villages.[269] Since the villagers often sat on their stairs and chatted with neighbors and passers-by, it is understandable why they wanted to keep their stairs spic and span.

The villagers also kept their windows and window dressings looking nice and clean. The word many of the interviewees used was "sparkling," as in bright white with no dirt or cobwebs.[270] Newhaveners judged each other's cleanliness by the state of their windows and what they could see inside. A clean window diminished the appearance of class division among the villagers and outsiders, while the villagers believed a dirty window encouraged the stereotype of fisher people as being lower class." Because the villagers equated cleanliness with a family's commitment to supporting and promoting Newhaven's core values of godliness, order, and family, it was very important in Newhaven to maintain a clean window. When John Stephenson's grandmother was laying on her deathbed and he told her that the funeral procession would go past her house, her last words were, "Make sure the curtains are clean."[271] The villagers kept their curtains clean by washing them at least once a week.

Washing clothes and other items served as a place where the women of Newhaven could spend time together while also being productive. In 1928, no one in Newhaven owned a washing machine, so there were two ways for the villagers to do their laundry.[272] First, they could go to the Leith Public Wash House, which was known as a "Corporation wash house" because the City of Edinburgh ran it. The wash house served as a social space for the women of Newhaven to gather and chat while huge machines

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[269] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 89.
[270] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[271] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 106.
[272] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.

washed their clothes; men could enter but were not welcome there. Jim Park's mother usually went to the wash house to do the Park family laundry.[273] So did Joan Williamson, who enjoyed the company there, but they were in the minority.[274] The majority of Newhaven's women preferred the second method: boiling a large pot of water and washing their clothes themselves by hand. Isa Wilson's mother used this method to wash clothes on Mondays; she cleaned the house while the clothes soaked, usually working from morning until 4:00 when the kids came home from school.[275] In order to dry their washing, the women and children would lay their curtains, sheets, and clothes out in the open green spaces of the village, especially Fishermen's Park. Newhaveners referred to their communal garden space as the "back green."[276] Because of the need to share the space, doing laundry was quite the communal affair.

"If You Spit on One, You Spit on Them All"[277]

The people of Newhaven spent a lot of time together, which was both a consequence of their way-of-life doing fishing work and a reflection of the importance they placed on being together in community with one another. As we have seen, lived in very close quarters, so much so, in fact, that Margaret McLean heard her mother warn the new minister one day, "If you spit on one, you spit on them all," to which Margaret's mother and the minister both started laughing hysterically.[278] As comical as it sounded, it was true. Daily life in Newhaven involved a person's immediate family, their extended family, and all of their neighbors. Whatever the villagers were doing, whether using the

[273] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 13.
[274] Hepburn and Williamson, interview with Helen Clark, 1993.
[275] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.
[276] Hepburn and Williamson, interview with Helen Clark, 1993.
[277] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[278] Ibid.

shared toilets or doing their washing, they constantly interacted with other people. Mary Johnston told her friends that being involved in each other's lives "is what it's all about in a village," and we can see this as we consider the key elements of a typical day in the life of a Newhavener.[279]

The *2nd Statistical Account of Scotland, 1834-1845* recorded that the Newhaveners were taller than average and in good health, which seems surprising given the poverty in the village. The men were described as being healthy, active, and muscular, and it said the women were pretty, remarkably strong, and cleanly.[280] The same was still true of Newhaven 80 years later. Constant access to fresh seafood meant that the Newhaveners did not usually go hungry, and if families needed to food to eat, they could go to the churches or their neighbors to ask for help. Malnutrition among the poorest families could sometimes cause outbreaks of diphtheria, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis, but this was rare.[281]

The larger threat to the villagers' health related to sanitation. Edinburgh and its surrounding villages struggled to keep the water clean; cholera and typhoid were always a danger due to Newhaven not having a natural stream where the people could get their drinking water. Edinburgh got its water from streams flowing down the seven hills that surround the city; it pumped that water into pipes that served the entire capital. Today, it is some of the cleanest water in the world, but that was not the case in 1928.[282] Edinburgh did not treat its sewage until 1978, choosing to pour it into the Firth of Forth until then. The environmental damage caused by the City of Edinburgh would lead to the

[279] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[280] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 21.
[281] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 18.
[282] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 56.

poisoning of the Firth of Forth by the 1960s, and it would become one of the major contributing factors to the decline of Newhaven's fishing industry during middle of the twentieth century.

No Idle Hands

The word "active" does not do a Newhaven villager's normal day justice. Another strongly-held virtue in Newhaven was the importance of working hard and not wasting time. Parents and grandparents did not allow Newhaven children to have idle hands, and they looked down upon idleness. By all accounts, Newhaveners multi-tasked all day long. If a fishwife was waiting on her laundry to soak, she would sit on her steps and mend clothes that needed mending. If a fisherman was waiting on dinner, he would spend time repairing his nets, and so on and so forth. When Sandy Noble was a boy, he saw a fishwife walking along, and she came upon four young girls sitting idly by. She yelled at the girls, "'Could you not put a sock in your hand?" The point was not the knitting; it was about not wasting time when there were always chores and tasks to do.[283]

The weekly schedule in 1928 set aside days of the week for specific tasks. We already discussed the Newhavener Sunday routine. Even though "every day was cleaning day in Newhaven," Newhaven families did their major clothes washing and house cleaning on Mondays.[284] Tuesdays through Thursdays and Saturdays saw the fishwives working the streets selling their fish, and Fridays were Newhaven's big night out. The pubs filled to the maximum, usually featuring live music. Only men were

[283] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 50.
[284] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 55.

allowed in Newhaven's pubs at this time, except for special occasions when women were allowed in.[285]

Leisure Time

While Newhaveners did not have a lot of leisure time, they did use what time they had free from work for a variety of activities, ranging from events at church and the Society to local missions work, sports, movies, dancing, and singing.[286] In other words, even in their time off they were not idle. The village was full of social organizations, most with a connection to one of the two churches. Just in their work spheres, gender determined membership in some of these spaces. The men had the Society and their pubs, and the women had their choirs. Everything else allowed all villagers to participate.

Every night of the week, a person could go play dominoes, draughts (checkers), and billiards or attend an event with live music or a speaker.[287] A lot of Newhaven's men and boys loved to go fishing for sport,[288] and they did so either fishing over the break wall or out on a friendly boat sailing over the Forth.[289] If they wanted to see a movie, Leith had the closest cinema a mile away; several Newhaveners said they went once or twice a week growing up in the 1930s and 1940s.[290] Sitting on one's stairs was a common way to relax at the end of the day. Cathy Lighterness's mother would sit down with her coffee, and her friends from nearby houses would come outside and join her for a good chat.[291]

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[285] Ibid., 75.
[286] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 50.
[287] Newhaven History Group, interview with Denise Brace, Newhaven, March 25, 1994.
[288] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[289] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.
[290] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[291] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.

As fun as games, sports, fishing, sitting and chatting with friends, and movies were for Newhaveners, swimming enjoyed the most popularity of all. It was free, refreshing, and always available to the men, women, and children of the village. People from all over Edinburgh would come to the Chain Pier just west of Newhaven to swim,[292] and mothers could go down to the harbor, knitting away while talking with their friends and keeping an eye on their kids while they played in the water.[293]

All of these leisure activities created micro-communities within the village that strengthened communal bonds and brought some balance to the Newhaveners' hard lives. They also provided relational spaces for every person in Newhaven to learn: about themselves; about what they liked to do with their time and what they were good at; about the people around them; and the world outside the village. Since their time off usually involved interactions with other Newhaveners, leisure strengthened both individual and collective identity within the village.[294]

"A Nest of Singing Birds"[295]

The last important leisurely pastime to mention was singing. Singing served as a distinctive part of Newhaven village life: villagers often sang while they worked or hummed while they went about their business around Newhaven. The Newhaveners adamantly insisted that song was a major part of Newhaven's cultural heritage, and this led to the formation of numerous choirs throughout the village over the years.[296] Helen McGowan, who grew up walking through Newhaven on the way to work, remembered

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[292] Newhaven History Group, interview with Denise Brace, March 25, 1994.
[293] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[294] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 1994).
[295] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 70.
[296] "Bow-Tow Newsletter," *Newhaven Heritage Group*, Issue 2, Spring 2014/Summer 2014.

hearing the beautiful singing of the Newhaven women who worked in the net factory at Granton, which was her place of employment as a young woman.[297] George Hackland shared that a lot of the villagers sang because it was something they could do for free, and it allowed others to join in.[298] The Reverend Duncan Nelson, who served as minister at Newhaven Parish Church, wrote about the people of Newhaven that "singing was in their blood."[299]

Sir Hugh Robertson, who served as the creator and conductor of the Glasgow Orpheus Choir, said of Newhaven in 1945: "The people are unique in their unspoiled naturalness; their faces lined with such character, they sing straight from the heart. If I ever felt I am getting above the world I live in, I shall go to Newhaven to be inoculated." Once again, while intending to compliment the Newhaveners, Sir Robertson expresses great surprise at finding such excellent singing in a poor fishing village far from his home of metropolitan Glasgow; his quote embodies the marginalization the villagers were used to experiencing from outsiders. Obviously, the villagers kept singing despite these kinds of reactions from people who thought of themselves as being in a higher social class. Sir Robertson would go on to coin the name, "the nest of singing birds," for Newhaven.[300]

These testimonials explain why even the local media referred to Newhaven's musical prowess in their articles.[301] Tom McGowran argued that the entire nation knew of Newhaven and its women's choirs because of their international performances, [302] and the Newhaven Heritage Museum's official guide to Newhaven spent several pages

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[297] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 75.
[298] Newhaven History Group, interview with Denise Brace, March 25, 1994.
[299] Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them."
[300] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 70.
[301] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[302] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 65.

detailing how its choirs made Newhaven "famous for over a century."[303] In 1936, the *Edinburgh Evening News* mentioned how both choirs were touring the country with their songs of Newhaven life, and this served the purpose of keeping Newhaven in the forefront of the minds of the Scottish,[304] as well as simply making the village famous.[305]

Out of this tradition grew two choirs of renown, the Fisherlassies' Choir and the Fisherwomen's Choir, two of Newhaven's sites of belonging comprised only of women. The men never had their own version of a choir, probably due to the time constraints that came from their work out on the seas.[306] Also, when the Fisherwomen's Choir had an upcoming performance, it met in the evenings to prepare, including on Friday nights,[307] so the practices gave the women of Newhaven something to do since they were not allowed in the pubs where all the men were congregating. A handful of those interviewed said this was what drew them or their mothers into the choir – just a reason to get out on a Friday night.[308]

Although membership totals varied over the years, both choirs usually had an average of about 30 members.[309] The Fisherlassies' Choir sang in harmony, and the Fisherwomen's Choir sang in unison.[310] Mary Kay sang in both the Fisherlassies' and Fisherwomen's Choirs.[311] According to Kay and other villagers who sang in the choirs, there was no sense of rivalry between the two singing groups, although many members

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[303] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 46.
[304] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[305] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," *Edinburgh Evening News*, December 16, 1939, 3.
[306] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 74.
[307] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.
[308] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 75.
[309] Ibid., 74.
[310] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 48.
[311] Kay and Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 17, 1994.

sang in their church choirs as well.[312] Performances for the Fisherlassies' Choir included all types of vocal arrangements, while the Fisherwomen's Choir only sang songs from Newhaven and the Scottish fishing community at large.[313]

All of the girls and women who participated in the choirs had to wear the traditional Newhaven fishwife costume during performances. Lizzie Linton gave Mary Kay her mother's fishwife costume, and this allowed Mary to then join the Fisherwomen's Choir.[314] Media accounts about Newhaven's choirs made a point to describe the costumes in detail and share their significance, namely that they dated back to the "glory days" of the *Great Michael*,[315] and that the costumes served as cultural icons that represented the hard-working fishwives of Newhaven to the outside world. Some photos even included spinning wheels and creels next to the choir women, who were in their full fishwife regalia.[316]

Diana Morton and Denise Brace, who worked as curators at the Museum of Edinburgh and specialized in Newhaven's history, both told me that the choirs helped familiarize the Newhaven fishwife costume and made it recognizable to people across the country, and sometimes even internationally, outside of the Edinburgh area for most of the twentieth century. By performing across Great Britain and in a handful of international performances as well, the choirs took a local icon and transformed it into an international one, and according to Diana, that was exactly what both choir directors wanted: a uniform costume identified with Newhaven that positively and accurately

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[312] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 74.
[313] Ibid., 73.
[314] Kay and Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 17, 1994.
[315] "Newhaven Fisherwomen's Choir," *Newhaven Press Cuttings* (Edinburgh Room: Edinburgh Central Library, 2014), 68.
[316] "Still Singing 50 Years On," *Evening News*, May 10, 1977.

presented the village and fishing life to the outside world. Lastly, as things began to change in Newhaven in the twentieth century, the choirs' use of the fishwife costume served as a preservation force that protected the memory of their way-of-life.[317]

The Fisherlassies' Choir

The Fisherlassies' Choir came into being first.[318] The Fisherlassies' Choir first formed in 1896 by Mr. James Morrison Cooke, a teacher at Victoria Primary School; he originally called it the Fisher Girls' Choir.[319] After he died while serving in World War I, the choir had no director until a fellow Newhavener, Mr. David Kennedy, stepped in to fill the role.[320] The choir splintered in 1929, leading to its rebranding as the Fisherlassies' Choir under its new director, Miss Ritchie. When she left the choir to get married, Mr. Robert Allan took over as choir director in 1938 and served in the role until the choir disbanded in 1995.

The Fisherlassies' Choir performed from September to April every year, practicing for two hours a week on Tuesday evenings. The choir directors limited membership to girls and young women, and they had to have a familiarity with singing due to the harmonies the choir performed. Rena Barnes said she was fortunate to be able to serve in the choir because she had the spare time, but many Newhaven girls and women, like her mother, could not join because of the demanding practice and performance schedule.[321] The girls performed throughout Great Britain, singing a variety of musical pieces all from memory.[322] The directors used the proceeds from their

[317] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[318] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 65.
[319] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 47.
[320] David Kennedy, "Letter to the Editor," *Edinburgh Evening News*, October 26, 1957.
[321] Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.
[322] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 70.

performances to pay for the choir's expenses; they donated anything left over to local charity organizations.[323]

The Fisherwomen's Choir

Mrs. Marion Ritchie attended a meeting for Mr. Ernest Brown, the Liberal candidate for the Member of Parliament from Leith, in 1927, and during the event, she led a sing along that the crowd enjoyed. Afterwards, Mr. Brown suggested she start up a local choir to sing at more of his events, and she did, the Fisherwomen's Choir. Mr. Brown won his election,[324] which he credited in part to the choir's influence.[325] Mrs. Ritchie directed the choir, and her daughters Menie and Betty helped her lead it. Menie assisted with conducting, while Betty played the piano.[326] The choir's members included all ages of Newhaven women, young and old, described by the local media as a "fine collection of handsome Scottish fisherwomen."[327] After Mrs. Ritchie died, Menie and Betty kept the choir going.[328]

The Fisherwomen's Choir quickly gained a measure of fame and a reputation for its excellent presentation of Scottish folk music.[329] The choir began performing all across Great Britain at public venues and military events,[330] including two packed performances in London in 1936 that met with great acclaim.[331] "Caller Herrin'" and "Caller Ou'" were their most popular songs.[332] Menie attributed the songs' popularity to the passion

[323] Kennedy, "Letter to the Editor."
[324] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 49.
[325] "Still Singing 50 Years On," *Evening News*.
[326] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 73.
[327] "Newhaven Fisherwomen's Choir," *Newhaven Press Cuttings*, 68.
[328] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 629.
[329] S.M.T., "The Fisherwomen's Choir," *Magazine and Scottish Country Life*, March 1937.
[330] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 2.
[331] Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'."
[332] S.M.T., "The Fisherwomen's Choir."

with which the choir sang the two songs, saying, "Many of them have husbands and sons lying deep in the sea," so they truly meant the words they were singing.

By 1976, the Fisherwomen's Choir had performed in over 1000 locations,[333] including several concerts on the Continent,[334] and they had raised tens of thousands of pounds for local charities by donating all of their proceeds.[335] In 1938 alone, for example, the choir donated 600 pounds after doing a series of performances across the country.[336] The effect of these concerts was to grow public awareness of Newhaven, its culture, and its people. Jim Park wrote that the choir's fame, and their beautiful songs about Newhaven, made him proud to be a Bow Tow.[337]

Once again, the women of Newhaven succeeded in growing the village's reputation around Great Britain and parts of Europe in very positive way. The "singing birds" used music and their collective voices to push back against the stereotyping and marginalization they frequently experienced as fisher people. They also used the choirs to serve as a social space where the village's women could gather in community with one another, enjoy the pastime of singing, and keep the men out.

Penny "Pour Outs," Men-Only Funerals, and Shaking Hands[338]

Jim, and a host of other interviewees, were also proud of Newhaven's customs and the villagers' beliefs on a variety of issues that often came up in daily life. Margaret Campbell told her interview group that weddings in Newhaven were a "great affair."[339]

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[333] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 629.
[334] Our Turret Window Columnist, "Singing Their Way to Norway," *Edinburgh Evening News*, May 11, 1965.
[335] "Newhaven Fisherwomen's Choir," *Newhaven Press Cuttings*, 68.
[336] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 2.
[337] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, i.
[338] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[339] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.

Sandy Noble agreed, sharing that sometimes wedding celebrations would last for several days as family and friends traveled to Newhaven for the festivities. The majority of Newhaven's weddings were not in either of the churches, often due to the cost of renting the space. Instead, couples got married at Fisherman's Hall, inside the minister's house, outside in the park, or in front of one of their families' houses.[340] Being outside or in such a social place as the Society's meeting hall added to the "community wedding" dynamic the Newhaveners preferred. Villagers presented gifts to the new couple in their home, blessing it with goodwill. This was called "handseling" the house.

Because a Newhaven marriage was a true partnership where both husband and wife were in business together, the villagers tried to get the new couple off to a good start by making the wedding celebration as fun and meaningful as possible. The community wanted this marriage to work, and if Newhaven's way-of-life was going to continue, then the villagers needed the marriage to work, too. Since weddings were one of the few occasions where Newhaveners got to escape fishing duties and truly have fun, everyone wanted to take part in the celebration, especially the children.[341]

The children's interest in attending a village wedding had to do entirely with a Newhaven custom called the "pour out."[342] According to tradition, after the bride and groom left the site of the wedding for their honeymoon, the father of the bride would throw out copper pennies for all of the village children to collect,[343] and they would run around and pick up as many pennies as possible. The children would gather during the wedding ceremony and wait expectantly in anticipation for this fun and easy way to get

[340] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 89.
[341] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.
[342] Ibid.
[343] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 103.

some money. If there was no father of the bride, the newlyweds themselves would throw pennies out from behind their vehicle as they left the village.[344] The popularity of the "pour out" makes sense in a poor fishing village where free money, even in the form of pennies, would be quite valuable.

Funerals were much more regimented affairs. Most Newhaveners died at home in their beds, unless, of course, they perished at sea. Generally, Newhavener women sat with the sick person throughout the night leading up to the moment of death, and then only the men attended the funeral service and procession to the cemetery.[345] Cathy Lighterness gave the Newhaveners' reasoning behind the men-only rule, saying, "It wasn't a place for women. It was too hard for the women." The men in 1928 were not supposed to cry, either, so separating the genders helped them "save face" by only having men around if they got emotional during the funeral. The women of Newhaven had to mourn in their own way, which usually meant spending time grieving with one another or by themselves in a comforting space like their home or down by the shore.[346]

The strict gender separation at funerals is proof that the claim of matriarchy controlling Newhaven by people outside the village was wrong. The women interviewees would have preferred to be allowed to participate in all parts of the funeral process, but although this is allowed now in Newhaven the neighborhood, it was not in Newhaven the village.[347] Newhaven's funeral traditions, which the Newhaveners developed themselves over the centuries, also broke the village's separation of the genders into topographical spheres, where men had control over the sea and women made

[344] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 89.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Margaret McLean, interview with author, Fairmilehead, May 20, 2014.
[347] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.

decisions for situations on land.[348] The reasoning behind keeping women away from death due to their "being more fragile than the men" is surprising considering how incredibly strong, both physical and emotionally, the fishwives were in the eyes of their fellow villagers and outsiders looking in to Newhaven.

Unless their fisher family had a private burial plot, most Newhaveners were buried in the cemetery at Rosebank. Poorer families, and some very frugal ones, did not purchase stones; they just had to remember the exact spot where they buried the body.[349] Family members, especially any brothers of the deceased, were expected to look after any widows.[350] This belief flowed from Jesus's command to give special care to widows.[351]

There were four more beliefs worth quickly mentioning that served as key parts of the Newhaven collective worldview. First, the men secured a transaction or agreement with an alcoholic beverage and a handshake. Shaking hands was to give one's word, and they treated it like a contract. A man's word was his bond.[352] Second, because of Christ's selfless example in the Scriptures, the people of Newhaven valued service and putting others before oneself. The interviewees gave numerous accounts of how they or their family members chipped in money, food, time, or gifts to help their neighbors in need.[353] The third important belief flowed out of the villagers' strong work ethic: they had a real aversion to receiving charity.[354] This sounds contradictory considering how

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[348] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Hobsbawm makes the point that people create their traditions over time. The Newhaveners created these traditions for themselves and for their own reasons.

[349] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

[350] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, John Stephenson, and Amanda Wilson, interview with author, Newhaven, March 25, 2015.

[351] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.

[352] Ibid..

[353] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

[354] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.

much the villagers valued generosity and helping each other as a part of their Christian faith, but several Newhaveners made it clear that they only took charity when absolutely necessary. Being in need was embarrassing.[355] Finally, almost all of the interviews contained moments of laughter among the Newhaveners; they loved to laugh, and they valued laughter in the face of hardship as one of life's keys to longevity.[356] Having a good sense of humor lessened the cares of the world.[357] So did having a drink or two, but too often in Newhaven, drinking alcohol became a problem.

<u>One Village, 13 Pubs</u>

Cultures always have their darker, unhealthier sides. One custom many of the Newhaveners fully embraced was a love of alcohol and its presence at social occasions. Drinking alcohol was not a problem in itself; the problem came from its frequent overconsumption, usually by men in the village, and the effect it had on their temperaments. Getting drunk and behaving badly, even violently at times, worked against the communal belief in God, order, and family so heartily embraced by the people of Newhaven. The men of Newhaven had a reputation around Edinburgh for loving their alcohol too much.[358] Indeed, all of the interviewees that referenced alcohol mentioned that many Newhaven men struggled with alcoholism; none said this about the women, although it was probably also true for some of them as well. It was harder for the women to drink because of their prohibition in the pubs; they took their drinks inside their homes and drank with their girlfriends there.[359]

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[355] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[356] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[357] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[358] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[359] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

The interviewees who talked about alcohol usually had a family member who abused it. Jim Wilson never remembered his grandfather being sober;[360] Frances Milligan said that her dad was a "very heavy drinker."[361] Mary Clement told me about how her father would get off the boat after 10 days at sea, get paid, and then take his wages straight to the pub.[362] Cathy Lighterness's uncle behaved the same way, so the family had to make sure they got some of his wages before he could spend them all.[363] Apparently it was a common sight to see fishwives waiting outside Newhaven's pubs for their husbands; they wanted to make sure their spouses did not spend all of the newly-paid wages.

There were several other accounts like these given about interviewees' family members, and almost all of them ended the same way: by arguing that their alcoholic family member's behavior was justifiable due to his working conditions as a fisherman. In fact, several even used the phrase, "He was entitled" in order to defend the bad behavior.[364] A few accounts saw interviewees go out of their way to recognize the alcoholism but then stress that their family member was a "nice alcoholic" or never got "drunk drunk."[365] Differentiation between being a "nice drunk" versus a "mean-" or "angry drunk" mattered because of the many bar fights that broke out among Newhavener men drinking at the village's pubs. The Newhaven honor code told them to take their brawl outside, fight only with their fists, and then stop when both sides were satisfied. Supposedly, it was not uncommon for a fight to end and the crowd go back

[360] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[361] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, November 18, 1993.
[362] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.
[363] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[364] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.
[365] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

inside the pub for another round of drinks, including the two participants. The violence from alcohol-induced fights was one of the reasons the men used to justify excluding women from the pubs.[366]

Lost wages were not the only problem with alcoholism. With the men out at sea so often, many Newhavener children grew up not being around their fathers. Paul Thompson described the men as being "absentee fathers."[367] With 10-12 day trips and two days off, the average Newhaven child had only four or five days a month to be with his or her father, so an inebriated father who behaved erratically was not the best parent or example for a child to be around. Being present but emotionally absent or abusive created a lot of permanent damage in the lives of the interviewees, thus explaining why so many said they loved their mothers but did not have much good to say about their fathers beyond the fact that they worked very hard.[368] It also explains why so many of the interviewees were determined not to follow in their fathers' footsteps or make the mistakes their fathers made.[369]

Alcoholism was not the only driver of lost wages, either. Street gambling was illegal, yet Newhaven had a bookie everyone called "Tralee," which was not his real name.[370] Even though the police arrested the bookie several times, he would pay the fine and return back to his business the next day in the village.[371] There were also legal gambling businesses where people could place bets.[372] The combination of too much alcohol and a fisherman who gambled threatened a family's finances; this was one of the

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[366] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 92.
[367] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 181.
[368] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[369] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[370] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 95-96.
[371] Ibid., 117.
[372] Ibid., 1.

reasons for the Newhaven tradition of the women keeping control of the purse (or at least trying to by getting their husbands wages from them before the men spent the money). Because many of the pubs both sold alcohol and allowed the men to place bets, Newhaven pubs served as a double threat, and there were a lot of them.

In 1928, Newhaven had 13 pubs, and because all but one of them were men-only, each of them were a site of belonging for Newhaven's fishermen to enjoy.[373] The Jug Bar allowed women in on occasion.[374] For a small fishing village, this was a lot, even though most of them were smaller establishments, and as Margaret McLean said, "They all had their clientele."[375] Somewhat ironically, women owned and operated both the Old Chair Pier Pub and Maggie MacFadgen's,[376] yet the owners, Bette Moss and Maggie MacFadgen, respectively, were the only women allowed in the place.[377] All of the pubs closed at 10:00 pm, and the police walked through the village enforcing the curfew.[378] Newhaven's drunken fishermen and their encounters with Edinburgh's bobbies contributed to their reputation around Edinburgh as men who often drank too much.

The rampant alcoholism led three different temperance organizations to begin working in Newhaven, the Rechabites, the Band O'Hope, and the Independent Order of Good Templars.[379] Alcoholism, and the abuse it unleashed, threatened Newhaven's family structure and the order it brought to the village as Newhaven's primary site of belonging. The organizations all encouraged the families of Newhaven to stop drinking alcohol, or if that was not an option, to stop drinking before reaching the point of

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[373] Kay and Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 17, 1994.
[374] Newhaven History Group, interview with Denise Brace, March 25, 1994.
[375] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[376] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 30.
[377] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 104.
[378] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 28.
[379] Ibid., 85.

drunkenness. One of the temperance organizations put on a meeting or event each night of the week, so the families had something they could do with the rest of the community. Admittance was usually one penny; this encouraged attendance because villagers paid to go to the event, and it gave the organizations an operating budget to put on more shows.[380] The villagers also spent their hard-earned money at the many small businesses and shops in Newhaven.

No Need to Leave

When the Newhaveners talked about how Newhaven used to be "a proper village," one of the characteristics they were referring to was being able to buy most of what they needed on a daily basis in Newhaven.[381] The interviewees shared this fact with a point of pride; Newhaven had most of what the villagers needed to survive day-to-day. There were approximately 26 shops operating within the village in 1928,[382] as well as 13 pubs, two hotels, and seven grocers.[383] Some were strictly businesses, and others were private dwellings where families sold good directly out of their houses.[384]

Before refrigeration, people had to go shopping every day or every other day for what they could not store, so owners kept their stores open six or seven days a week, depending on the products they sold.[385] There were two bakeries, Mason's and Pennycocks. Mason's was famous for its pies.[386] Three butchers provided the village with non-fish meats, including Tommy the Butcher who had the "best sausages

[380] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[381] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[382] Ibid.
[383] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 50.
[384] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 22.
[385] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 17, 2015.
[386] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 120.

around."[387] Two fish and chippies operated in Newhaven, Gisiteri's and Finlay's, which did very well because fish and chips were a cheap way for families to eat out.[388] Newhaveners could also go to Watty's Barber Shop to get a haircut;[389] Colven's Blacksmith Shop for any metal-related work, including on boats or for horses;[390] and the bank at the end of Main Street.[391]

The people of Newhaven seem to have enjoyed going about their daily lives in their little fishing village. As Frances Milligan said, "They were quite happy in their own wee groups and everything."[392] But when they did leave, how were they perceived? What did the "outsiders" who encountered them think about these fisher people? We have read several pieces or quotes from political leaders, media figures, and artists so far that touched on this topic, but we have not explored it in detail. Now that we know a lot about what Newhaven was like in 1928 before its decline began, Chapter 3 will close with an in-depth look at how the Newhaveners saw themselves, how the local media portrayed them, and what their neighbors thought of them.

Perceptions and Portrayals

To effectively study perceptions and portrayals of Newhaven, we must use a few sources in the decade after 1928. In 1936, Newhaven Parish Church sponsored a Centennial Pageant where the villagers produced a show about themselves and their 400-year history. The pageant presented a thorough walk-through of key Newhaven events. It depicted Newhaven's beginnings as being humble, opening with a recreation of King

[387] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.
[388] Roberts, interview with Helen Clark, March 9, 1991.
[389] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 116.
[390] George Campbell, interview with Pat Gawler, Newhaven, December 14, 1993.
[391] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 2.
[392] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 18, 1994.

James IV's visit to see his "new haven" dockyards and then preceding to act out the dedication of the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace. The first scene concluded with the launching of the *Great Michael* in 1511. The next scene showed the founding of the Society of Free Fishermen in 1611, as well as the daily hardships of working in the fishing industry for all members of Newhaven's fisher families. It also showed how the Society argued over how to stop oyster poaching in the Forth during the nineteenth century, laying out the various strategies the Society proposed and followed for addressing the poaching problem.

The third part of the show stressed the role of women in the village, showing scenes where village women were baiting lines, putting fish in their creels, setting out to walk Edinburgh's streets, looking out at approaching bad weather, running their homes while the men were away, and the general upkeep of Newhaven itself. Every man, woman, and child played a part in the village's success, and the pageant highlighted each of their contributions. Finally, the pageant ended by re-creating the opening of Victoria Primary School and Newhaven's role in helping Great Britain win the Great War. The journalists present made note of the strong approval the audience gave to the performers at the end of the pageant. While there were no quotes from audience members, the media accounts described is as being a great success.[393]

One author made a special point to notice how Newhaven women, and their role in fishing village life, were featured so prominently in the pageant. One short scene reenacted the story of how the Newhaven fishwives supported the Suffrage Movement and sent a Newhaven delegate to petition Parliament to give women the vote. The

[393] "Centennial Celebration," *Evening News*, September 30, 1936.

message from the pageant to the outside world was clear: women in Newhaven were empowered to do just as much, if not more, than the men; and the Newhaveners would do whatever it took to survive.[394]

Newhaveners saw themselves in four key ways. First, they spent their lives working in the profession of fishing, and everything else in their existence flowed out of this context.[395] To be a Newhavener was to be a fisherman, fishwife, or fisher child who aspired to fill in his or her parent's shoes. Second, they were a close-knit, insular community where folks generally looked after one another.[396] Connected by their hard work, poverty, marginalization of outsiders, and the unpredictability of fishing, many Newhaven families and neighbors stayed close, supporting each other as best they could while looking for ways to help Newhaven's more troubled inhabitants. No one else could understand what they went through just to survive.[397] Third, they were proud, proud of surviving for four centuries as fisher people who constantly faced outside threats,[398] and proud of being a small but important village that defied Edinburgh[399] and provided Great Britain with fresh food, good songs, and examples of hard-working Scots.[400] This third trait explains why Newhaveners were so offended when outsiders referred to them as living in Leith or simply being "near Leith."[401] Finally, despite the poor living conditions and constant marginalization by outsiders, they thought Newhaven was a good place to

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[394] Ibid.
[395] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 53.
[396] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[397] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 24, 1995
[398] Wilson McLaren, "Newhaven Memories," *Evening Dispatch*, October 20, 1937.
[399] George Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know: Canny Men and Caller Herrin'," *Scottish Daily Express*, February 7, 1936.
[400] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 52.
[401] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

grow up.[402] As a community of comprised of mostly Scottish Christians who valued taking care of one another, they looked past their poverty, alcoholism, and slum-like conditions and saw a wonderful community for any child to be raised in, one that was clean, orderly, and caring.[403]

The media's portrayal of Newhaven and its people was almost always positive, sometimes even glowing in its terms, and their accounts of the village often contained a measure of stereotyping or marginalization, ranging from subtle to blatant in their descriptions. The media presented Newhaven in three main ways to its readers. The George Blake quote from Chapter 1 sums up the first way: Newhaven is "concerned only, utterly, and exhaustively with the sea and its ways."[404] In other words, Newhaven and its people spent their lives fishing; that was their purpose on this earth and what they were meant to do. Maggie Mucklebackit in Sir Walter Scott's *The Antiquary* reflected this portrayal.[405] There seemed to be sincere appreciation for this service, even though it relegated the Newhaveners to being simple, poor, and industrious fisher folk,[406] others who are different from the rest of us.[407] Because of their livelihoods, the second and third main tenets were closely related. The second one the media wrote about was the intriguing combination of traits the villagers embodied: they were hard-working, tough, fiercely independent, superstitious,[408] and insular.[409] This made them fascinating subjects to cover in their papers, and it explains why there were dozens and dozens of articles over

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[402] Campbell, interview with Pat Gawler, December 14, 1993.
[403] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[404] Blake, "The Scotland I Did Not Know: Canny Men and Caller Herrin'."
[405] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 52.
[406] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 53.
[407] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 9-10.
[408] Stuart, "A Newhaven Tale," December 1, 1938.
[409] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 162.

the years about the hard work of the fishwives, the media's preferred image of these unique people. The people of Edinburgh saw these fisher women walking the streets with their creels, and they probably wanted to know more about the women's stories. The media was happy to provide that, selling more papers in the process.

Nostalgia for the "old ways," and the myth of what Newhaven represented, was the third tenet.[410] When people hate the present, they tend to look back to the past and find a previous, "better" time to idealize for comfort, even if it is a myth they have created in their minds. Even though Newhaven existed in the present, its "old ways" allowed the journalists to appropriate the virtue of the past to the spaces of the village.[411] Columnist after columnist held up Newhaven's way-of-life as wholesome and worth emulating and protecting, even in defiance of change. They made the fisher people of Newhaven represent the best about what they felt society had lost in modern times.[412] As of the 1928 period, they also believed Newhaven and its culture would endure for a long time.[413]

The last category is harder to gauge, but we can identify three general opinions Newhaven's neighbors held about the villagers with some certainty. First, even though they did not understand their way-of-life, and this led to stereotyping and marginalization of the villagers, Newhaven's neighbors seemed to respect how hard the Newhaveners worked as fisherfolk. Lord Provost of Edinburgh William Darling told them so in 1940, saying that the rest of Scotland highly respected the people of Newhaven for their way-

[410] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 3.
[411] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 205.
[412] Ibid., 48.
[413] John o'Leith, "Newhaven's Past Glories," *Evening Dispatch*, May 6, 1938.

of-life.[414] It was not an easy life, and the Newhaven work ethic was constantly on display for all outsiders to see, like coming to one's doorstep in the form of a fishwife and her creel. For most people in Great Britain, when someone mentioned Newhaven and those listening had heard of the village, the first image that came to mind was that of a strong, ornately-clothed Newhaven fishwife.[415] The choirs had a major part in forming this association as well.

For the second opinion, the people of Edinburgh, and those who lived in Newhaven's neighboring areas, like Trinity or Leith, knew that the villagers preferred to keep to themselves; outsiders were not very welcome in the village.[416] As William Smeaton observed, the community was "strictly exclusive." Years of intermarriage strengthened this tenet of Newhaven's reputation. Fisher people married other fisher people if only because it was so hard for a non-fisher person to enter a fishing family and survive.[417] Mrs. Ellen McWalter told her interview group that at the age of 84, even though she had lived in Newhaven for over half a century since marrying her Newhavener husband, she still saw herself as an incomer, and they still treated her that way because they were a "very clannish lot."[418]

The last opinion was judgmental but hard to refute: Newhaven was a slum, and its people were poor fisher folk. They were not the poorest of the poor, but most Newhaven families rarely had much extra at the end of the week. They took great care of their limited possessions, and they valued traditional things like cleanliness in their homes and

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[414] "Armada Stone," *Edinburgh Evening News*, October 30, 1944.
[415] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 52.
[416] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village."
[417] William Henry Oliphant Smeaton, *The Story of Edinburgh* (London: J.M. Dent & Company, 1905), 384.
[418] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 226.

clean living in their lives, although many enjoyed drinking alcohol on the side. But despite working to make the most of their situation, the villagers still lived in small houses that shared outdoor toilets. Even in 1928, most Scottish homes had their bathrooms indoors. Newhaven housing was dilapidated, and as we shall see, that would spell trouble for Newhaven much sooner than they ever imagined.[419]

Conclusion

For 424 years, the fisher families of Newhaven staked out a living on the Firth of Forth, building a unique culture within their shared space. This culture developed and evolved over time as each individual villager contributed in his or her own special way to the overall community. As a fishing village, fishing strongly influenced all aspects of the Newhaveners' lives. By being primarily a one-profession village, the "community had a [strong] sense of itself,"[420] and by 1928, they enjoyed a rich daily life full of a host of relationships, events, and institutions that promoted their fisher worldview and its communal values, ones that they and their ancestors created for themselves.

The daily lived experience of the villagers transformed Newhaven's spaces into socially-constructed places with "inherent meaning and purpose for the practical uses of daily life."[421] This chapter considered how these "spaces" became "places" through the meaning ascribed to them by the people who lived in them, and it discussed significant sites of belonging like Newhaven Parish Church, St. Andrews Church, the Society of Free Fishermen, Victoria Primary School, the fisherwomen's choirs, the pubs, and the families of the Newhaveners themselves. The Newhaveners created and defined all of

[419] McLean, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[420] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 83.
[421] Soja, *Post-modern Geographies*, 16.

these spaces, and the villagers used them to build the kind of strong community required for a successful fishing village.

Describing community as being crucial to Newhaven was not an exaggeration of their situation: fishers valued "community identity because it [was] precious to them, in part because it [was] the one thing they could count upon" in a profession of such uncertainty and danger.[422] Paul Thompson correctly pointed out that "economically and socially, fishing communities only survive at all because the internal bonding through neighbours and family, together with a sense of separateness… combine to set them apart from wider society."[423] Newhaveners prioritized belonging and robust relationships with their family and friends in order to help them survive the hard life of working as poor fisher people, especially in light of the marginalization they experienced from people outside the village.

This chapter explored the three fundamental beliefs found at the core of Newhaven's belief systems: a belief in the God of Christianity and the supernatural, a belief in the need for order, and a belief in the importance of family and community. These three tenets defined their collective worldviews as a village and simultaneously informed each other. The villagers turned to God for personal direction and professional protection. They emphasized the need for an orderly village as a way to introduce a modicum of control into their hazardous work lives, as well as address the unruly and darker aspects of life in the village, namely the ill effects of poverty, alcoholism, and gambling among the men of Newhaven. The family served as the core structural unit of the village, and when it functioned properly, the community did well. To support

[422] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 214.
[423] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 360.

Newhavener families of all types, the Newhaveners maintained its special institutions like the Society and Victoria Primary School to protect their way-of-life and ensure its continuation. From these three core beliefs also flowed a host of other beliefs and values, some held individually and some held corporately, that guided the Newhaveners' everyday choices and built a complex culture full of its own customs, rituals, and traditions.

The main institutions that guarded the Newhaven worldview and culture were the village's two churches, the Society of Free Fishermen, and Victoria Primary School. They faced a variety of opponents: the Edinburgh Corporation, 121 George Street, competitors in other fishing villages, alcohol, poverty, and even nature itself. More than just serving as passive protectors, these four organizations were active participants that both influenced and perpetuated the collective Newhaven worldview, teaching the villagers about the supernatural, fighting for the rights of the fisher families, and preparing the next generation of Newhaveners to take their parents' places.

By 1928, Newhaven enjoyed at least some measure of fame nationwide and internationally. This chapter showed how both the Fisherlassies' Choir and the Fisherwomen's Choir used song to teach the world about life in Newhaven and its distinctive culture. By wearing their fishwife costumes, they increased awareness of Newhaven's fishwives and raised their iconic status from the Edinburgh area to the national stage. The choirs also gave the women of Newhaven a men-free social space of their own to lead and enjoy. Their performances, coupled with outsiders' experiences interacting with the villagers themselves, shaped public perception of Newhaven, so much so that the media found mostly positive things to say about Newhaven when the

village came into the spotlight, even though many journalists used marginalization language that identified the Newhaveners as matriarchal, lower class, and "other."

The core argument of Part I: The Way It Was is that through 1928, Newhaven existed as a community of fisher people who lived in a place rich with meaning that they and their ancestors created, distinct and separate from Edinburgh, Leith, and any of the other areas around it. Over time, the village gained an international reputation through the combination of six main aspects of the village: Newhaven's founding by King James IV to build his mighty warship, the *Great Michael*; fishing as a way-of-life; Newhaven's fish dinners; its fresh oysters; its fishwives and their work selling fresh fish on the streets of Edinburgh; and its fisherwomen's choirs performances around Europe. Unbeknownst to anyone in 1928, the zenith of Newhaven's existence, James Ramsay built the last fishing vessel ever made in Newhaven, the *Reliance*; the ship's launch marked the beginning of Newhaven's twilight. Today, the village is no longer there; a neighborhood has replaced it. Chapter 4 will analyze Newhaven's decline and explore the four macro-level forces behind its eventual destruction.

# Chapter 4

## The Decline

### Introduction

Fishing villages around the world face constant pressure from outside forces seeking to change their way-of-life. This is a common tenet of life in a fishing village.[1] Despite these pressures, in the 424 years between the founding of Newhaven in 1504 for the purpose of constructing its first ship, the *Great Michael*, to the launch of the last Newhaven-built ship, the *Reliance*, in 1928, the people of Newhaven built a complex, unique culture centered on the daily demands of working in the fishing profession and living in a small, insular village next to the Firth of Forth. During these four centuries, the villagers overcame countless obstacles, persevering and making a life for themselves and their descendants in an unpredictable and dangerous profession. However, as the fifth century of Newhaven's existence progressed, Newhaven began declining; its way-of-life was no longer sustainable for the people who lived there. Forces from outside and within Newhaven began to fundamentally transform the village and its people's lives around the time the Newhaveners celebrated the *Reliance*'s launch. These changes were subtle and hidden, and the villagers only began to notice them once the damage had already been done.

Today, the Firth of Forth is the "location of the remains of a once renowned fishing industry."[2] While those interviewed for this dissertation offered a variety of reasons for why this happened and how, by the end of the 1960s, the fishing industry

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[1] Paul Thompson, Tony Walley, and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1983), 360.

[2] T.C. Smout, "Garrett Hardin, The Tragedy of the Commons and the Firth of Forth," *Environment and History* 17, no. 3 (August 2011): 360.

failed to support the families who lived in Newhaven. Chapter 4 explores the four main macro-level forces the villagers and the Edinburgh-area media credit as being responsible for permanently altering Newhaven's traditional way-of-life: technological advances in fishing, overfishing, pollution, and generational disinterest in continuing in the fishing profession combined to impact Newhaven in the decade preceding World War II. Two events also greatly contributed to Newhaven's decline: the Edinburgh Town Council's forced modernization of Newhaven's homes and roads between 1958 and 1978, and the forced amalgamation of its two churches in 1974, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Because change occurs while we are busy living our lives, it can be easy to miss the change until later when we have time to reflect on what has happened over time. Only then do we see and understand the full story, and that is exactly what happened to Newhaven's fisher people. Taken together, the effect of the combined forces ushered Newhaven the village into its twilight years. They led to a transformation that ended with the destruction of Newhaven's fishing industry and the creation of a modern Edinburgh neighborhood in place of the ancient fishing village that preceded it. Chapter 4 begins with an overview of the years between 1928 and 1939, when Newhaven passed its zenith and began its existential crisis.

## I: Change Comes to Newhaven

### The First Signs of Change

As the early twentieth century progressed, fisher families had a future so long as they could continue fishing, and in 1928, Newhaven Harbor was full.[3] While there were other ships that docked there and used the harbor to drop off fish at the Fishmarket, the

[3] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 359.

Harbor contained 32 boats belonging to Newhaven families that sailed weekly and employed 132 Newhaven fishermen (as well as other men from the surrounding area).[4] The *Reliance* was one of these ships, and with a full fleet coming into the Fishmarket, the people of Newhaven thought that times were good.

As the 1930's began, Newhaven itself had 990 voting-eligible adults living in the village who were keenly aware of the economic distress affecting the country (and the world).[5] Even though unemployment in Britain skyrocketed from one million to 2.5 million in 1930, the Newhaven fishing industry kept making a profit, shielding villagers from many of the economic hardships their neighbors were enduring. Their fleet of 32 ships kept bringing in fish for the country to eat, and the Fishmarket did well selling its usual fare of prawns, sprats, herring, and other fish.[6]

That same year, the people of Newhaven witnessed an event that astounded them: two brand-new fishing vessels viewed as technological marvels joined the harbor fleet, the *Endeavor* and the *Gratitude*. Jim Wilson was five-years-old when the ships docked; the two new boats belonged to his father and his uncle.[7] Jim said the whole village turned out to inspect the ships. They were the first boats in Newhaven to have a wheelhouse and a winch. The ships were each 39.9' long, the maximum allowed by law for fishing in the Forth at the time, and they used electricity throughout the entire ship. The men even had their own bunks with beds inside them.[8] The arrival of the *Endeavor*

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[4] Tom McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 245.

[5] Chris Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community" (unpublished manuscript, 2013), 158.

[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] While Jim did not specify the name of the company that built the ships in his interview, it is very likely they were built in either Leith or Granton.

[8] Denise Brace, Helen Clark and Elaine Greg, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs* (Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council Department of Recreation, 1998), 24.

and the *Gratitude* signaled that nautical technology was advancing and the latest innovations were becoming more affordable for fisher people like the Newhaveners. The *Endeavor* and the *Gratitude*, along with Newhaven Harbor's other 32 ships, brought in a record haul the next year in 1931, with 18%, or 479,000 cwt,[9] of all of Scotland's fish being brought ashore at Newhaven.[10]

The fish experienced price inflation in 1932 due to the Great Depression causing the production costs of fishing to rise. The price increase led to the first call by the local media for help for the fishing industry and the troubles it faced in December of that year. The editors of the *Evening News* reminded readers of the "great pride" Edinburgh and surrounding villages took in the fishing industry and its people; the sea had traditionally been Edinburgh's secret for success and the main driver of the local economy, especially in Newhaven. When the shorelines of Granton, Newhaven, and Leith were combined, Edinburgh had a 10-mile long collective harbor "all within city boundaries" that had been the city's key to prosperity, yet the authors declared that the fishing industry was in trouble. The cost of production was too high, and subsequently, the price of fish was becoming too expensive for many Edinburgh families. This led to numerous trawlers and fisher family businesses reportedly ending the 1932 fishing season having lost money.[11]

Because costs were too high across the board, the editors called for Edinburgh city government to invest in a variety of cost-reducing measures in order to help move Newhaven, as well as Granton and Leith, into the modern age by investing in their upkeep and newer fishing technology. They proposed developing new docks equipped

[9] A "cwt" is the acronym for "a hundred weight" and weighs 112 pounds in the United Kingdom.

[10] "Edinburgh-on-Sea: The City's Greatest Asset," *Evening News*, December 16, 1932.

[11] Ibid.

with the latest technological advancements and encouraged the owners of yawls and trawlers to modernize their fleets. The city itself could improve transportation between the coast and the rest of Scotland so that the fish that landed in the three villages traveled quickly to local markets. By increasing supply to meet the high demand for fish, prices would decline, enabling more Scots to purchase the fish, while also putting more money in the fisher families' pockets. They closed by suggesting that all of these measures would ensure the success of the Scottish fishing industry for years to come.[12]

The *Evening News* editorial led to a variety of subsequent articles over the next several years, and ultimately, succeeded in bringing about a much-needed technological update and service expansion to Edinburgh's "10-mile harbor" beginning in 1937. The articles all shared a common theme: Newhaven's traditional way-of-life was in trouble, and the village needed help to survive. In October 1933, a "Bow Tow" published a poem anonymously entitled "A Cry From Newhaven" which called for the modernization of Newhaven Harbor's facilities. The key line said this: "That is the slogan for today, the one and only which will pay; rouse the sleepers, wake the watch; cry modern facilities down the hatch; shout till the echo reaches Heaven; modern facilities for Newhaven."[13]

Just a month earlier, the *Edinburgh Evening News* wrote about another factor causing change in Newhaven: the fishwives were disappearing. Even though many of them still walked the streets of Edinburgh selling fish from their creels, there were noticeably fewer fishwives. The article blamed the younger generation for the problem, suggesting that younger fisher folk did not want to follow "their fathers in the open boat or mothers with the creel." It closed by pointing out that although fewer fishwives

[12] Ibid.
[13] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 134.

walked the streets, Newhaven's fishing trade was still doing well, and "long may we see about our streets those fair, sturdy, fresh-complexioned women in their striking dresses, worthy representatives of auld Newhaven."[14]

By 1935, it was clear to the villagers and the local media that Newhaven was growing increasingly uncompetitive in the national economy. An October 1935 article in the *Scotsman* referred to the 1933 editorial's idea of large-scale redevelopment and called for the enlargement of Newhaven Harbor for the purpose of encouraging more naval traffic. It argued that deepening the harbor would allow more trawlers and steamers to dock there, thus making Newhaven more attractive for sea traffic.[15]

A Growing Awareness of Change

The year 1936 serves as another marker in Newhaven's story for two reasons. First, as 1936 progressed, there was a growing chorus calling for action in Newhaven and other fishing villages along the Scottish coast. There was a general awareness that the fishing industry was changing, and so was Newhaven and its time-honored traditions. Second, Newhaven Parish Church and its parishioners celebrated 100 years of religious service to Newhaven by holding a centennial pageant. This pageant included a performance of Newhaven's history. Because the pageant was the Newhaveners portraying themselves, it was significant because it revealed how they perceived themselves and what they valued. The articles about Newhaven that year also showed what Newhaven's neighbors thought about the little fishing village, as well.

[14] J.C.G., "Newhaven: James IV's Naval Dockyard," *Edinburgh Evening News*, September 30, 1933.

[15] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 179.

In January 1936, the *Edinburgh Evening News* opened its article about Newhaven with the phrase, "One has a great fondness for old Newhaven," revealing the nostalgia that already surrounded the village and its ancient customs. The author despaired about the loss of green spaces in Newhaven over time, lamenting that new housing developments and commercial growth had left Fisherman's Park as the only major green space in the village, and this in turn harmed the fishing village's traditional daily routines.[16] The article also highlighted the existence of a public sentiment that wanted Newhaven to stay the same by somehow resisting all of the changes affecting it.

Six months later, the Leith Dock Commission's announcement of major redevelopment in both Leith's and Newhaven's harbors proved that the Scottish government was responding to the public outcry for help for the fishing industry. The *Weekly Scotsman* ran a long article in July detailing the history of Newhaven, which it described as "a village which has seen so many marked changes of fortune," and how its residents sorely needed improvements in their harbor to help them maintain their fishing ways. The author argued that although "the character of the fishing is entirely altered," the new Leith Dock Commission scheme for enclosing the bay between Leith and Newhaven, and its plan to deepen the harbors, would mean renewed prosperity for Newhaven. Gone were the sailboats of old, as the Newhaven fleet now consisted entirely of motor yawls with four- or five-man crews.

To bring in extra income, Newhaven's fishermen worked on trawlers during the off-season. The trawler industry, although still a looming threat to Newhaven's traditional fleet of yawls, landed its catches at Granton and Leith, with half of the fish

[16] W.M.P., "Our Fishing Village," *Edinburgh Evening News*, January 18, 1936.

going straight to Newhaven's Fishmarket and thus helping provide much-needed income for Newhaven families. Although the LDC's plan would have been more effective had it been proposed a few years earlier due to the time it would take to institute it, the author speculated that the plan would bring "increased prosperity" to the fishing industry in Newhaven.[17] As the following two decades unfolded, it did not.

When October arrived, the villagers began celebrating the centennial of Newhaven Parish Church, and this celebration included performing weekly pageants during three weeks of festivities.[18] During such a tumultuous year, with the fishing changing at home and the threat of war abroad, the pageant came at a good time. It gave the Newhaveners a chance to hold a celebration of "common social identity" that would reaffirm the values they held so dearly, and it accomplished this feat by focusing on the guardians of Newhaven's culture and key sites of belonging: the churches, the Society, Victoria Primary School, and Newhavener fisher families.[19] The pageant also provided a space for the villagers to unite under a "grand unanimity of purpose" and celebrate their ancient community and fishing way-of-life.[20]

The "Inexorable Law of Change"[21]

As 1937 began, Newhaven Harbor had a very healthy 130 boats from the village and its neighbors which were fit for sail and fishing.[22] Newhaven's representative to the Edinburgh Corporation, Councillor Wilson McLaren, described the villagers' pride in the

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[17] Alex Mackey, "Newhaven: The Fishing Port Renowned for 'Caller Herrin'," *Weekly Scotsman*, July 11, 1936.

[18] "Centennial Celebration Announcement," *The Scotsman*, October 31, 1936.

[19] Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in *The New Cultural History*, eds. Lynn Hunt and Aletta Biersack (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 133.

[20] Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1988), 83.

[21] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*, May 10, 1938.

[22] "Night With the Ring-Netters," *Edinburgh Evening News*, January 2, 1937.

Newhaven way-of-life as being higher than ever,[23] but as the year progressed, the news got continually worse. Rumblings from the Continent over Germany's expansion worried the villagers, and many wondered what a possible war might mean for the fishing. In June, the general consensus from the fishermen at the Fishmarket was that they had all experienced their worst year overall, and concern over declining fishing hauls abounded.[24] The Corporation expressed concern about the lack of progress in Newhaven's dilapidated housing and streets. Fishwives still roamed the streets of Edinburgh, but in diminished numbers.[25]

When the Leith Dock Commission initiated the redevelopment scheme for expanding Leith's and Newhaven's harbors on July 30, the villagers cheered the progress and promise of greater competitiveness for the fishing industry, but some felt saddened over the loss of the beach between Annfield and the Fishmarket that would soon disappear as Kallis, the Dutch company overseeing the reclamation work, began raising up new land.[26] From their perspective, Leith was taking away Newhaven's traditional beaches forever and converting them into modern dockyards; in other words, the reclamation scheme was not worth the cost of their beloved shoreline.[27] Things were changing, even the land the village sat upon, and after years of fighting and losing to outsiders who interfered with Newhaven, there was not much the people of Newhaven felt they could do about it.

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[23] Wilson McLaren, "Newhaven Memories," *Evening Dispatch*, October 20, 1937.
[24] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 172.
[25] McLaren, "Newhaven Memories," *Evening Dispatch*.
[26] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*.
[27] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 10.

Two bright spots encouraged the villagers during this hard year. First, the Fisherwomen's Choir, with its "picturesquely garbed fisherwomen," flourished under the directorship of Mrs. David Ritchie. The choir's reputation for the excellent presentation of Scottish folk music continued to grow, and the Newhaveners took solace in the thought that no matter what the future held, the choir's music, like the well-known fishing songs "Caller Herrin'" and "Caller Ou'," would preserve the story of their village and its fishing ways through their many verses about the plight of fisher people.[28]

The Newhaveners talked about the second bright spot for many years afterwards: the royal family came to visit Newhaven on a trip through Scotland on July 7.[29] King George VI, Queen Elizabeth, and their two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret, drove through Newhaven in the official royal car. The entire village turned out to see them, and the fishwives wore their gala costumes and sang "Caller Herrin'" as the royal family drove through St. Andrews Square[30] during the parade.[31] The fishwives appreciated the fact that their sovereigns chose Newhaven for one of their visits.[32]

By 1938, two local newspapers were openly lamenting Newhaven's ongoing transformation. John o'Leith wrote the first article for the *Evening Dispatch* in May which argued that Newhaven had become "more or less a distinct suburb" of Edinburgh due to the ongoing changes encompassing the village. Once the Leith Dock Commission finished the extension scheme, he wrote, Newhaven would enjoy a geographical

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[28] S.M.T., "The Fisherwomen's Choir," *Magazine and Scottish Country Life*, March 1937.

[29] James Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, ed. Robin Black (Glasgow: M'Naughtan & Sinclair, L.T.D., 1951), 91.

[30] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth: My Story of a Living Village* (Millom: Regentlane Publishing, 1998), 40.

[31] "Fishwives Greet King and Queen and Sing "Caller Herrin'" as They Pass," *Daily Mail*, July 7, 1937, 1.

[32] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 41.

continuity with Leith, but at the expense of its beaches. Even though many older Newhaveners mourned the changing landscape in their village, raising land out of the Forth simply restored land that had been present at Newhaven's founding but sank over time. Mr. o'Leith posited that because of Newhaven's long history of overcoming difficulties, the village would survive any major changes to its way-of-life.[33]

Four days later, *Edinburgh Evening News* published a second article that pushed o'Leith's sentiments a step further and displayed sadness for the changes occurring in Newhaven. The piece argued that the people who felt that the Newhaven of old was disappearing were correct; "modern industry" had lured many of the former fisher family members to new occupations, including the fishwives. The article blamed the advent of the trawlers and their mass-fishing capabilities for putting smaller independent fishermen out of business and siphoning the younger generation away from their families' fishing boats into the trawler owners' employment, thus ruining Newhaven's famed "individuality."[34] The "inexorable law of change," as exemplified by the reclamation project pushing the shoreline out 100 feet from its previous position at Annfield and creating an entire coastline of dockyards with Leith, swept away Newhaven's centuries-old way-of-life. This generation just did not have the same opportunities to succeed that their grandfathers and grandmothers had had, forcing many of them to leave the village or the fishing industry entirely. Because of the forces affecting Newhaven, even "the invisible barriers which once separated them from the communities around them [had] long broken down." The article closed by lamenting the loss of "these fine, simple men

[33] John o'Leith, "Newhaven's Past Glories," *Evening Dispatch*, May 6, 1938.
[34] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*.

and women, true children of the sea; and it is a thousand pities that by the inexorable law of change they have been swept away."[35]

In the months leading up to the outbreak of war in 1939, the fishing industry's performance in Newhaven was mixed, and uncertainty abounded among the Newhaveners. Unbeknownst to most of the villagers, all four macro-level factors of decline were already at work around them. The village now housed 935 voting-eligible adults, so Newhaven had experienced a small decline in its population since the decade began.[36] About 30 fishwives still worked regularly out of Newhaven.[37] Sixty trawlers landed their fish at Granton and Leith, and the majority of it came to Newhaven's Fishmarket for sale. Eighty yawls also landed their catches in Newhaven Harbor for the Fishmarket to sell.[38] In fact, by September 1, the yawls reported landing their best catches in over a decade due to a strike among the trawler crews that crippled their operations during the last month of the season.[39] Even though Edinburgh's Lord Provost had declared Newhaven the "jewel of Edinburgh" just a year prior, the outbreak of World War II accelerated the forces causing the village's decline.[40]

## II. Newhaven In Wartime

### War Begins

The Leith Dock Commission, fearing the consequences of an attack on Edinburgh by the Germans, decided in the fall of 1939 to halt the reclamation project until after the

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 158.
[37] Ibid., 57.
[38] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," *Edinburgh Evening News*, December 16, 1939, 3.
[39] Photograph of Newhaven Harbor, *Evening News*, February 3, 1939.
[40] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 1.

war.[41] Pausing the topographical transformation of Newhaven's eastern seashore was emblematic of the overall effect the war had on the village. During the next six years, Newhaven seemed to be frozen in time as the war effort stopped almost all fishing, and the villagers' lives were thrown into a new kind of normal; but underneath the surface, the factors of decline affecting the village before the war did not abate. World War II changed the fishing industry along the entire Scottish coast, the Newhaveners' daily routines, and the culture of Newhaven itself.

During World War II, almost all fishing in Newhaven ceased.[42] Right after the declaration of war, the British government commandeered most of the fishing trawlers and the larger inshore yawls for the war effort.[43] These vessels became minesweepers or boom defense boats. What few ships the Navy left behind, like the *Brighter Dawn* and the *Gratitude*,[44] had to fish off of the Scottish West Coast for their own safety due to the presence of German submarines in the North Sea.[45] Also, the Navy severely restricted the fishing grounds because it wanted to control the movement of ships around Scotland and protect friendly ships that were allowed to travel.

It was not until the winter months hit that the government began drafting Newhaven's young fishermen to serve in the armed forces.[46] Because of their reputation for being excellent sailors, the British Navy wanted as many Newhaven fishermen as it could get. The men who volunteered usually found themselves on mine-sweeping ships due to their well-trained "sea-eyes" and ability to see things floating in the water.[47]

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[41] J.M. Russell, "How is Newhaven?," *The Scots Magazine* (March 1976), 630.
[42] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 44.
[43] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks'' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 2.
[44] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 44.
[45] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 18, 1994.
[46] James Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.
[47] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 109.

Because of the dearth of fishing vessels and fishermen to operate them, Edinburgh and the surrounding villages experienced fish shortages. In Jim Wilson's words, "there was just barely enough to go around," and as George Hackland added, "you rarely got your fish of choice." The capital city normally enjoyed a plenty of fish and a variety of kinds to choose from, but not during the war years.[48]

Jim Wilson, his father, and Jim's uncle were the only three Newhaveners who fished for a living during this period, and they said it was almost impossible to make ends meet due to the government's severe restrictions on fishing.[49] According to Jim, the Navy restricted fishing in the Firth of Forth, including a ban on fishing around Newhaven, but the Wilsons were given permission to travel east to Pittenweem to fish there. The Granton Naval Base also gave them permission to travel west through Grangemouth and up the canal to the West Coast. There was no fishing at night due to the ban on any lights, so the Wilsons had to be back by dusk.

Newhaven's position near the Leith Docks and the Forth Bridge, and its location on the Forth, made residents nervous during the war[50] because the village was vulnerable to air raids or sea-based attacks.[51] By war's end, Newhaven never received a direct hit, but there were several attacks on various targets around the Forth, including the Forth Bridge, the Leith Docks, and the trawler fleet.[52] In fact, the Germans sank two trawlers sailing out of Granton on December 17, 1939 after sending the Luftwaffe to bomb the city.[53]

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[48] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.
[49] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 44.
[50] Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1986), 167.
[51] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 109.
[52] Ibid., 110.
[53] Ibid., 122.

While these dangerous times did concern the Newhaveners, it also caused them to lean into their village community, and the bonds they shared, for the strength to endure. Margaret Finnie put it this way: "People pulled together. It was for survival, and you were all working for a common cause." When *Edinburgh Evening News* reporter R.W.C. visited the village on December 16, 1939, he found a village full of fisher people determined to live their lives as normally as possible and help the country defeat the Nazis. On the surface, it seemed to R.W.C. that daily life had not changed, but a closer inspection of the "new normal" brought on by the war shows that a lot of Newhaven's daily routines and customs changed in order for the villagers to survive.[54]

The Villagers Adapt

Although the number of men and ships working in fishing plummeted near the end of 1939, the fishing industry still continued its work at a greatly diminished level, and the people of Newhaven adjusted accordingly. In the words of Elsie Tierney, "We managed. It was amazing how we managed."[55] Because of the national order on September 1 to put all the lights out at night, the Fishmarket functioned normally with the small exception of opening two hours later, at 9:00 a.m. instead of 7:00 a.m., to comply with blackout conditions.[56] Even during wartime, the Fishmarket enjoyed daily visits averaging just over 600 people, complete with the fishwives in the traditional garb selling their wares.[57] Granted, buyers never knew what kind of fish they would find each day, but there was usually fish to buy, even if it was not their first choice.[58]

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[54] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 3.
[55] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 17, 1995.
[56] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.
[57] R.W.C., "Fisher Folks' Outlook: Newhaven in War-time," 2.
[58] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.

In addition to the fishing, a variety of other daily routines changed as well, affecting the Newhaveners' food, lighting, mobility, family togetherness, and work experience. The British government instituted a rationing program in 1940 that ended in 1954.[59] The government gave everyone a ration book for purchases. Newhavener Andrew Sime shared stories of numerous times where he found himself standing in a queue not knowing what the line was for: "If you saw a queue, you just joined it cause you wondered what they had got."[60] Jim Wilson considered Newhaven lucky because it had three bakers, and they made baked goods every day they could get flour.[61]

Blackout conditions required a lot of work to cover any lights that might be seen at night. Drivers put shutters on their car lights to lower the beams to the ground, and they were discouraged from driving at night unless there was an emergency. People put up dense curtains in their homes to cover windows, even using heavy tape sometimes. Every evening, a man on foot patrol would walk through the village inspected the windows, yelling "put out that light!" if he saw a light in the darkness.[62]

Most of the village children joined the rest of the nation's youth and were sent away to the countryside for their protection. Their experiences while away varied depending on the people who took them in, but the vast majority of the Newhaveners loved their time away for two reasons. First, it seemed like a long vacation as they were able to explore other parts of the country and learn about life outside the village. Second, because of their poverty, many stayed in much nicer homes, with some describing the

[59] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 113.
[60] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 17, 1995.
[61] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, April 14, 1995.
[62] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 109.

houses as being "luxurious," giving them a taste of how their fellow countrymen lived.[63] The evacuation of the children, and their experiences outside of Newhaven, contributed to the fourth major factor of decline: generational disinterest in continuing in their parents' profession. They saw how families in other occupations worked and lived, which stood in stark contrast to the grueling demands of the fishing life. Their war-time "holidays" away showed that they had more options than just becoming fishermen and fishwives. Having seen how their fellow Scots lived, many returned to Newhaven after the war questioning their future in fishing.[64]

The last major change saw the women of Newhaven, as well as women all around the country, go to work in previously male-only professions. This was not as large a shift for Newhaven's women due to the unusually high level of autonomy and empowerment they enjoyed due to the fishing village's traditional work dynamics, but it was still a marked change. Mary Barker, who worked as a wireless operator, believed that the war initiated the start of true equality for Scottish women, allowing them to see their own potential and grow confidence in their ability to do as good a job as the men who previously held their positions.[65] As Elsie Tierney pointed out, in order to get to these jobs, many women also learned to drive for the first time, too.[66] With greater mobility and financial autonomy, women were empowered to consider a wider range of choices in their lives.

Even in the midst of a world war, the Newhaveners found ways to bring joy into their lives. Taking a cue from Newhaven Parish Church's celebration eight years earlier,

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[63] Ibid., 116.
[64] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, April 14, 1995.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 126.

Victoria School celebrated its 100-year anniversary on May 10, 1944 by putting on a pageant about Newhaven's history.[67] On June 2, 300 students from Victoria School participated in the pageant on Usher Hall's stage, dressed up in their fisher costumes and performing scenes from Newhaven's long history. Mr. Ernest Brown, MP for Leith, opened the pageant by giving the children the charge to connect with their past and continue Newhaven's great fishing tradition on into the future.

The show included historical scenes with songs interspersed by both of Newhaven's women's choirs, including several songs in which the children joined them onstage.[68] The scenes showed the founding of Newhaven and the launch of the *Great Michael*; the villagers turning to fishing for a living; the founding of the Society of Free Fishermen to protect fishermen's rights; a village wedding, and the day-to-day struggles of fishing life for Newhaven's men, women, and children.[69] The closing scene detailed Victoria School's progress over the past century educating the fisher children.[70] The children performed to a sold-out audience,[71] and then the school donated the proceeds to buy three beds for Leith Hospital.[72] The local media said "it was just like the Newhaven folk to devote the proceeds to a good cause."[73]

During the Centennial Pageant, the *Edinburgh Evening News* opined that most of Edinburgh's interesting historical figures had passed into memory, but the Newhaven fishwife was the lone figure to endure. During the performance, MP Ernest Brown

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[67] "Newhaven's Story: Children's Pageant in Usher Hall," *Evening News*, June 2, 1944.
[68] "Pageant of Newhaven: Victoria School's Centenary Celebration," *Evening Dispatch*, June 3, 1944.
[69] "Newhaven's Story: Children's Pageant in Usher Hall," *Evening News*.
[70] "Pageant of Newhaven: Victoria School's Centenary Celebration," *Evening Dispatch*.
[71] "Historical Pageant of Newhaven," *Edinburgh Evening News*, June 3, 1944.
[72] "Newhaven School Centenary," *The Scotsman*, May 10, 1944.
[73] "Historical Pageant of Newhaven," *Edinburgh Evening News*.

specifically addressed the younger generation about their parents' jobs as fishermen and fishwives. Mr. Brown told them that their "grandmothers' and mothers' uniform [was] much more valuable than the very latest fripperies of the very best modern film artistes," and he hoped the children would learn about and embrace Newhaven's unique culture. If they did, Mr. Brown said, then the ancient fishing village and its traditional customs would outlive all of the "momentary ideas" of today.[74] Newhaven's own Member of Parliament was encouraging young Newhaveners to remain in the fishing industry.

Five months later, the *Evening Dispatch* published an article about the debut of Victoria School's centennial plaque, and again, many of Edinburgh's political leaders were present for the occasion. It was October 30, and once again Mr. Brown, MP for Leith, as well as the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and a handful of city councillors, came to celebrate the plaque's installation and declare that what Newhaven stood for was exactly why the Allies were fighting the Nazis. Preserving Newhaven's way-of-life, even though it had changed in recent years, and all of the other villages around the world like it, made the war worth fighting.[75] Newhaven's children, all dressed in fisher costumes, surrounded the political leaders during the ceremony.[76]

The 1944 pageant was quite similar to its 1936 predecessor. It reminded the Newhaveners of the importance of their village's social pillars and the need to support these crucial sites of belonging that promoted and protected Newhaven's culture. It highlighted key aspects of the village that grew its fame around the country and abroad, reigniting their pride in their little village, and it encouraged the Newhaveners to keep

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[74] Ibid.
[75] "Newhaven School Centenary," *Evening Dispatch*, October 30, 1944.
[76] "Newhaven School Centenary," *The Scotsman*, October 31, 1944.

going even in the midst of a war. However, there was one small difference: the 1944 pageant included more scenes about regular daily life and the importance of singing than the 1936 one. One probable explanation for the increased emphasis on daily life and singing was to help the villagers cope with the "new normal" of their daily wartime routines, as well as to give them hope that their way-of-life would endure despite a world war. By "keep[ing] calm and carry[ing] on" by providing fish for the country, the Newhaveners were contributing to the war effort, and eventually, a return to normalcy. Unfortunately for the villagers, they did not return to a pre-war normality.

The New Normal Persists

By the time the war ended in 1945, Newhaven was a fundamentally different village. At first, when the Allies celebrated victory in Europe on May 8, 1945, the villagers hoped life would return to normal, at least the "Newhaven normal" they knew that preceded the war. The government immediately lifted the ban on keeping the lights on after dark, and the entire village turned out to celebrate by dancing, eating, and drinking around a big bonfire in Fisherman's Park while the church bells rang all across Newhaven and its neighboring villages. But when the festivities ended, it became clear in the months that followed that it was impossible to go back to Newhaven's pre-war days because the Newhaveners themselves had changed. Cathy Lighterness put it this way: "During the war, everybody clung together. They had nothing. Everybody was in the same position. They had nothing. But once they all got on their feet, it did change. Everything changed. Attitudes changed." While the reality of these post-war years was more nuanced than this statement made it out to be, Cathy's sentiment agreed with Jim

Wilson's when he said that "the comradeship you had during the war just dwindled."[77] The interviews from this period showed a general agreement with the opinion expressed by Cathy and Jim.

After six years of being unified around the national common cause of defeating the Axis Powers and preserving the Newhaven way-of-life as much as possible, why did things seem to change so dramatically when the war ended? Forty-two Newhaveners never returned from the war, leaving a marked absence in Newhaven's insular community. Almost all of these men died at sea, since the British Navy used Newhaven's fishermen primarily on its minesweepers for spotting mines floating in the ocean.[78] Rationing continued for eight more years, although food supplies grew more abundant with each passing year; and the people of Newhaven, like the entire country, began rebuilding their lives after living through another world war.

However, on an even deeper level, the changes the villagers endured to survive the war significantly altered their own worldviews, depending upon their individual experiences.[79] Sending Newhaven's children outside the village, many of them for the first time, gave them a chance to see what life was like outside of Newhaven. Newhaven's women also had professional opportunities that were not just limited to pedaling fish on the streets of Edinburgh, and the fishwives' ranks dwindled as a result. In fact, almost all of the fishwives who continued selling fish changed as well; now that they knew how to drive, the ones who could afford it started delivering their fresh fish in vans that they purchased for their work and never walked with the creel on their backs

[77] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, April 14, 1995.
[78] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 195-196.
[79] Cathy Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 13, 1994.

again. Driving door-to-door helped them stay competitive with a new phenomenon that appeared in Edinburgh after the war ended: a large increase in the number of fish shops around the city selling fresh fish, a change brought about by greater mobility creating stronger market connections throughout the country as a result of the war.[80] With more fresh fish shops scattered around Edinburgh, patronage to the Fishmarket diminished.[81]

It was not just Newhaven's women who had more options; women all across Scotland experienced the freedom and self-fulfillment of pursuing careers unrelated to their husbands, and the women of Newhaven celebrated this change. Nessie Nisbet remembered how all of her teachers at school were women during the war because the men were serving in the military; she had never seen a place where women were in charge of everything.[82] As Mary Barker said, "we [women in general] made a huge contribution to the war, and we were not about to just go back to the way things were before the war broke out."[83] Elsie Tierney spoke about how their husbands came home expecting to take their wives' places at work right away, but "you kind of resented it 'cause you were making the money and doing the job just as good as the men."[84] They called the process of being fired "so your husband could take your place 'demobbing,'" so Elsie waited as long as possible before resigning from her job because she enjoyed it so much. Isa Wilson's family had been in fishing for centuries, but to help the war effort, she volunteered for the Forestry Service and worked as a "Lumberjill" in a lumberyard.

[80] Smout, "Garrett Hardin," 360.
[81] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 57.
[82] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, Undated.
[83] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 126.
[84] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, April 14, 1995.

It was grueling but prideful work, but it did not end well because her boss immediately began replacing his female workers with their husbands after they returned home.[85]

The men had changed, too. Many of Newhaven's veterans had difficulty adjusting to civilian life after spending years on active duty; many of them struggled with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.[86] Others returned home with permanent physical injuries that affected their ability to work, requiring them to look for other jobs outside of fishing. Some of them had even temporarily forgotten their old fishing techniques and had to relearn them over time.[87] Newhaveners like George Hackland and Willie Hall had to decide whether or not they wanted to return to fishing; most of the able-bodied men chose to go back to what they knew.[88]

The British government, eager to return to its pre-war supply of fresh fish as a major food source, encouraged its fishermen in a variety of ways. First, the government attempted to pay the fisher families for all of the ships it commandeered during the war. Jim Wilson's family received £400 for the ship they lost to the Navy at the start of the war. They used that money, combined with grant funding the government awarded, to buy a new, larger fishing boat.[89] Providing grants and interest-free loans through the newly-created Herring Industry Board and White Fish Authority was the second action the government took to help returning servicemen go back into fishing; the funds could be used purchasing new boats and equipment, as well as repairing and upgrading old ones. Third, the Navy released all of the commandeered ships that survived the war back

[85] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Undated.
[86] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, April 14, 1995.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Undated.
[89] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, March 18, 1994.

to their original owners; these were quickly converted back into fishing vessels again.[90] Lastly, the government lifted its ban on fishing in the North Sea, which was now teeming with fish after having been unfished for the entire war.[91]

The war affected Newhaven in two key ways. First, the Newhaveners had learned much more about the outside world during the war. The men experienced it going to and from the battlefield; the women lived in it by working while the men were gone, and the children experienced it as guests in the homes of their caretakers during their time away from Newhaven and Edinburgh. There were other possibilities in life besides fishing on the high seas and walking the streets of the capital carrying the creel. Their worldviews changed because their individual experiences taught them so much more about the world around them. Second, right at the time when outside forces were slowly and subtly altering Newhaven's way-of-life, the villagers celebrated winning a war with their fellow citizens, a war in which everyone sacrificed in order to overcome Britain's enemies. This renewed sense of pride, possibly even hubris at being able to overcome if "we just all pull together," may have blinded them to the deeply serious changes going on in fishing and the minds of the next generation. They may have won World War II, but they were going to lose the upcoming battle for Newhaven's existence by not taking it seriously enough.

## III: The Decline Continues

### Picking Up the Pieces

Even though the Newhaven of 1945 was markedly different than the Newhaven of 1928, it was still, at its core, a fishing village comprised of fisher families with an ancient history full of customs and traditions that informed its inhabitants' worldviews and daily

[90] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, April 14, 1995.
[91] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, March 1995.

routines. With peacetime upon them, the villagers set out to rebuild their lives, whatever those lives might look like now, and this meant returning to the sea to fish. After being given six years to replenish itself, the North Sea and the waters surrounding it were full of fish, even being described as being "fairly plentiful and of good variety again."[92] The peace did not make much of a difference to the Wilson family because they kept on fishing through the war, but it took over a year for the fishing to pick up again as the rest of the village set to work at its ancient occupation.[93]

The rebuilding of the fleet was hampered by an unexpected problem: a lot of the new boats were too big for Newhaven's small harbor and could only get in at high tide.[94] According to George Hackland, this new dynamic required the Harbormaster to create and execute a plan that allowed the ships into the harbor in a very specific order so as to fit them all. Although the fleet did not reach its pre-war size, by the end of 1946, Newhaven Harbor had a large fleet in it once again, and so did Granton and Leith, with 26 yawls at Newhaven and 50 trawlers total operating out of the Forth.[95]

A ban on exporting fish was in place to conserve food resources for British citizens. The first years after World War II saw an abundance of herring in Scottish markets, and this led to what became known as the "herring boom years of the late 1940s." The boom years saw a glut of herring in Newhaven and other Scottish fishing markets since none of the fish was allowed to be exported to the rest of Europe yet. There was so much surplus fish that local Newhavener named Joe Croan opened a

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[92] A.M.M., "No Eight-Hour Day for the Fisherwife," *Edinburgh Evening News*, July 9, 1947.

[93] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, April 14, 1995.

[94] George Hackland, interview with John Mackie, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.

[95] "Newhaven-Still a Mecca and a Market for the Day's Catch, *Edinburgh Evening News*, November 21, 1953.

fishmeal processing plant that made fishmeal for farm animals out of the surplus herring; fishmeal prevented the fish from going to waste and brought in more income for the Newhaven families who worked there. In the decade that followed, the trawler crews who overfished and sold their catches to Croan's and other local fishmeal companies meant that this short-term remedy would come with a severe long-term cost.[96]

The herring glut dramatically lowered the price of fish throughout Scotland, harming those fisher families attempting to reestablish their fishing businesses. Those fishermen who did not make their catches by landing more fish to make up for the low prices could not pay back their post-war loans, and the Herring Board and White Fish Authority reclaimed their boats, putting them out of business. Also, the Newhaveners who managed to pay off their loans then had to compete with the new trawlers appearing at Granton and Leith, fishing vessels that could travel farther out to sea, and consequently, brought back bigger catches.[97] For those less scrupulous fisher families on the Forth who were determined to keep at it, this meant one thing: they had to catch more fish to pay the bills. Combined with the same desire by the Granton and Leith trawler owners, this catastrophic decision to overfish would accelerate the destruction of the traditional Forth fishing industry within than a decade.

Something Smells Fishy In the Harbor

After the fishing glut of the late 1940s faded, the opposite problem took its place: the fish got harder to find, and as the 1950s began, the people of Newhaven noticed something bad happening in the harbor. There were noticeably fewer boats landing their

[96] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.
[97] Ibid.

catches,[98] and the number of fishwives who took fish into Edinburgh had dwindled, too.[99] The *Edinburgh Evening News* reported in 1950 that the fishwives were disappearing due to competition with increasing numbers of fish shops and merchants, "but there [were] still many left of this hardy race."[100] Overall, there were only 850 eligible voting adults on the voter rolls in 1950; Newhaven's population was dropping.[101]

By 1952, Newhaven was gradually declining.[102] An *Edinburgh Evening News* story in November that year centered on growing anxiety over the future of the fishing industry in Newhaven. While the author speculated that Newhaven would continue to be a fishing hub "for many generations to come," he found a strong sense of "strain and uncertainty, not unaccompanied by undertones of exasperation" in the village.

Technology always threatens the fishing way-of-life, even if it has the power to improve it as well.[103] Fishing vessels had to travel farther out to find schools of fish, and they needed sonar to do it. Jock Robb said that everything "became electronic," and fishermen no longer needed the expertise their grandfathers taught them about how to find and catch the fish with just their eyes and wits.[104] This had been Newhaven's fishermen's specialty for centuries, and sonar and other machines were destroying this historic competitive advantage.

Costs of production were also rising. It was getting harder to pay crews a living wage. Trawler trips out to sea had risen from about £25 per trip before the war to

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[98] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[99] Eunice G. Murray, *Scottish Homespun* (London/Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1947), 85.
[100] H.M., "Our Lady's Port of Grace," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 4, 1950.
[101] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 158.
[102] Susan Edwards, Catherine Lighterness, Maureen MacGregor, Nessie Nisbet, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, June 10, 2014.
[103] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 360.
[104] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 48.

averaging £115-120 per trip.[105] Only one Newhaven fishwife, Esther Liston, still worked fulltime out of the Fishmarket. Many fishermen were moving to other industries to make a living or at least openly talking about making the transition. Despite the challenges, people in the fishing industry were fighting to survive, but hope was limited.

Two bright spots in the village suggested they might be able to overcome this latest bad turn of events. The first included the new box-washing machine a local business had just opened to clean the fish boxes. While a man could clean about 100 boxes in a day, the new high-pressure box-washing machine could clean 1600 in the same amount of time due to its conveyor belt.[106] The second saw the Newhavener William Liston buy the trawler company he previously worked for, changing the name to William Liston, LTD. Willie shared that that he saw the "writing on the wall" for fishing in Newhaven, so he immediately began saving and preparing to replace his fleet of coal trawlers with diesel ones over the next decade. In Willie's opinion, this was the only way to survive and stay competitive.[107]

A year later, things went from bad to worse. A reporter visiting Newhaven wrote that everyone he spoke to grumbled about the declining state of affairs in Newhaven. George Patterson, the Fishmarket Superintendent, had little hope for the village and its future, which he agreed had diminished in influence and prosperity. His records "showed the decline all too clearly - decreasing catches, the cutting down of the fleet, and vessels up for sale." Of the 26 ships in the Newhaven fleet, only six belonged to Newhaven fisher families. The Newhaven ships were not as technologically-advanced as their

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[105] H.M., "High Costs and the Fishermen," *Edinburgh Evening News*, November 21, 1952.

[106] Ibid.

[107] William Liston, interview with Jane George, Newhaven, June 27, 1995.

competitors. Fish in the Forth were getting scarcer and harder to find, requiring crews to go further out into the rougher waters of the deep sea to find catchable fish, so they struggled to compete. Newhaven's people knew that their traditional industry was suffering due to fewer boats in the harbor and fewer daily shoppers at the Fishmarket; many of those shoppers now patronized fish shops much closer to home, saving themselves from having to take the trip to Newhaven or wait for a fishwife to knock on their front door. Miss Ann Combe, who worked for 44 years at the Fishmarket, said there used to be 130 fishwives, but Esther Liston was the only Newhaven fishwife left.[108]

It did not help that Newhaven Harbor's reputation had suffered in recent years. A local fisherman told the *Edinburgh Evening News* that "there is not a fishing port in Britain so badly governed" as Newhaven's. The Fishmarket was known for offering low prices for buyers, but fishing crews selling their catches did not want low prices for their hard work. Mr. W. Hall, who served as skipper of the *Boy David*, confirmed this sentiment by saying that Newhaven was "regarded as a bad port for selling herring and sprats" due to the low prices the fishermen received.[109] Also contributing to Newhaven Harbor's poor reputation, the harbor was too shallow,[110] driving away bigger boats and newer vessels meant for deep sea fishing operations, all of which would have helped the village's fishermen stay in their traditional occupation.[111] These ships were equipped to find the increasingly smaller schools of fish and bring in catches able to sustain a living

[108] K. Robertson, "Discontent Among Newhaven Fishers: Poor Prices Driving More to Land," *Edinburgh Pictorial*, September 11, 1953.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Diana Morton, interview with author, Museum of Edinburgh, May 15, 2014.
[111] Stephen Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk," *Evening News*, April 16, 1994.

for their crews. So why were the fish disappearing? The answer was two-fold and both human-made: overfishing enabled by better technology, and pollution.

Overfishing Kills the Next Generation of Herring

The rising cost of fishing, combined with advances in nautical technology, tempted "the [fishermen] to over-exploitation" of the North Sea's fishing stocks.[112] One of the great maxims of the fishing world is that real fishermen do not fish for underage fish, and if they do accidentally catch them in their nets, the fishermen throw them back into the water. For 450 years, the fishermen of Newhaven, as well as fishermen from other Scottish coastal towns, abided by this crucially important rule at least enough that the schools of fish they relied upon for their livelihoods returned in abundance every year. Compliance occurred because the stakes were so high: harvesting the next generation of fish before they matured would doom the future of the entire Scottish fishing industry. Because of the great importance of not overfishing, fishermen put strong pressure on one another to follow the rule and reject making a little extra money today for the promise of having a fishing income at all tomorrow. In other words, it required crews to behave ethically about the fish they captured. As history teaches over and over again, when men get desperate, they often put aside their ethical behavior. Much to the frustration of the Newhaveners, this was exactly what happened among the fishermen on the Forth in the decade following the Second World War.

During the 1850s, some Newhaven fishermen engaged in sprat fishing, where they harvested young herring, called garvies, for sale as fish delicacies. There was a huge outcry from fishermen all across the Forth's fishing villages who worried that the

[112] Smout, "Garrett Hardin," 367.

Newhaven fishermen, as well as any others who might join them, were threatening future herring stocks, and thus, their fishing livelihood. Parliament responded with the Act of 1861, which outlawed sprat fishing using fine nets, the nets required to catch the small garvies. The law still allowed the fishermen to catch sprats, but without the fine nets, it was difficult to harvest the small fish.[113]

In the century that followed, ethical fishing crews used nets with mesh large enough for immature fish to escape and go back into the water, ensuring that they would breed as they matured into the next generation of harvestable fish. They would also throw back any sprats they unintentionally caught. Unethical fishermen desperate for larger catches would insert a small mesh into their nets, trapping the young fish. This practice was illegal, but also hard to enforce. Only when fishing crews landed their catches for sale did their fishing practices come under inspection.[114]

Jim Wilson, who blamed primarily overfishing, and to a lesser extent, pollution, for destroying Newhaven's fishing industry, explained that even though the regulations were very clear about the illegality of harvesting sprats, the rules did not specify how big the herring must be before they could be brought ashore. He also shared that as the 1950s progressed, trawler owners put more advanced technology on their ships, transforming fishing because the trawlers became much more efficient at finding the fish and bringing in larger catches. Newer technologies, like sonar and improved net systems, made overfishing easier and more appealing, especially, as lifelong fisherman Ian Smith described it, for those fishermen driven by greed.[115]

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[113] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 148.

[114] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 36.

[115] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

During the first half of the 1950s, trawler crews increasingly began using seine nets with smaller meshing, capturing immature fish and interrupting the self-propagation process. This ensured a steady supply of fish for Newhaven, Edinburgh, and the surrounding communities for the time being, but as Newhaven fisherman David Brand said, the fish moved from the Forth and the fishermen had to go farther and farther out to sea,[116] it became more difficult for Newhaven's fishermen to earn a profit in the fishing industry.[117] It was not just Scottish trawler crews that engaged in this practice. German, Dutch, and Danish trawlers mercilessly caught young herring before they could spawn, further compounding the problem.[118] In Jim Wilson's words, "and that's how it all just started to collapse, more or less."[119]

Much to Jim's frustration, the trawler skippers sold the bulk of their catches to the fishmeal plants, so people did not even get the benefit of eating the fish that was also the last generation of fish caught by inshore fishing. Because fish were processed en masse instead of being sold individually at the Fishmarket, selling to fishmeal makers also shielded unethical trawler crews from scrutiny that would have revealed their illegal practices in harvesting sprats.[120] George Patterson, the Fishmarket Superintendent, confirmed in 1953 that some of the trawler crews landing at Newhaven Harbor were harvesting young herring, and he worried that this practice would damage the next generation of fish.[121]

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[116] Brace et al, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, 19.
[117] George Garson, "Reflections on Fishin'," *Evening News*, November 12, 1983.
[118] Thompson et al, *Living the Fishing*, 41.
[119] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.
[120] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 45-46.
[121] K. Robertson, "Discontent Among Newhaven Fishers: Poor Prices Driving More to Land."

All of the fishermen interviewed for this dissertation,[122] as well as many of the Newhaveners themselves, agreed with Jim Wilson's overall assessment of what happened.[123] Overfishing by these much more efficient fishing vessels destroyed the inshore fishing stocks of the Firth of Forth, putting an end to over four centuries of inshore fishing by Newhaven fisher families on their yawls, and forced Newhaven fishermen to work become wage laborers on outsider-owned trawlers. In 1900, a trawler cost around £4000 pounds, and this had grown into the hundreds of thousands by the mid-1950s, well beyond the means of most Newhaven fishermen.[124] Because trawlers were so expensive, and they could no longer inshore fish for their livelihoods, the Newhavener fishermen had only two choices available to them: become employees on ships belonging to non-Newhaveners, subjecting them to a "wage servitude" previously unheard of in Newhaven; or leave the fishing industry entirely.[125]

Three other opinions about what happened to the Forth's fishing industry need to be included in this analysis, all of which add nuance to the overall argument here about overfishing and technology's role in Newhaven's decline. First, the Scottish government instituted quotas in 1953, attempting to address problems plaguing its fishing industry. These quotas did not work because the low prices caused by the glut of the late 1940s made it difficult for the fishermen to make a profit.[126] Also, if the government gave a fishing crew an area of water that had little or no fish left in it, the crew had nowhere else to go and was in deep trouble,[127] and the fishermen worried that crews who found

[122] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[123] Chris Garner and Margaret Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.
[124] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[125] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 161.
[126] Joseph Roberts, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 9, 1991.
[127] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

themselves in financial trouble would not follow the rules, leading to even greater herring depopulation.[128] There was also a strong sense among a handful of the Newhaveners that the government did not defend its fishermen from the fishing practices of their foreign competitors during this challenging period.[129] Great frustration surrounded this sentiment: why did the government not do more to protect its own fishing crews from foreign fishing vessels "stealing" Scottish fish on Scottish waters?[130]

As fishing declined, the Scottish government turned to oil. The government leased oil exploration permits for the seas around Scotland. After the discovery of oil in the North Sea near Aberdeen in December 1969, British Petroleum built oil platforms all around Scotland, including in the Firth of Forth. It took several years for the platforms to come online, as well as the huge British Petroleum oil refinery at Grangemouth, a coastal town 25 miles east of Edinburgh on the edge of Firth of Forth.[131] Because the oil platforms and oil tankers needed workers with nautical experience, it was an easy transition for them to leave fishing and join this new, emerging industry in the waters surrounding Scotland.[132] Ian Smith, Jock Robb, and John Stephenson all left fishing in the 1960s and spent the rest of their careers working in the oil industry. Even though they were sad to leaving their families' historic profession, they loved the oil business because, in comparison to fishing, "it was a cakewalk."[133] However, the oil industry's

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[128] K. Robertson, "Discontent Among Newhaven Fishers: Poor Prices Driving More to Land."

[129] Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

[130] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

[131] John Kerr, "North Seas Oil Begins to Flow," *The Guardian*, November 3, 1975, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/03/north-sea-oil-forties-field-begins-to-flow-scotland-1975.

[132] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 160.

[133] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 21, 2014.

waste compounded another major factor contributing to the disappearance of the fish in the Firth of Forth: pollution.[134]

"There's Nae Fish 'Oot There, No"[135]

Prior to opening its first wastewater treatment plant at Seafield in 1978, Edinburgh ejected its "entire untreated sewage to its adjacent and vulnerable shoreline" in an eight-mile range along the Firth of Forth.[136] T.C. Smout, who researched the Firth of Forth's environmental history, wrote that the City of Edinburgh turned "the Firth of Forth [into] the sump of east central Scotland" for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[137] For decades, pollution from Edinburgh's population and growing industrial sites along the Forth's tributaries poured into the Forth unhindered, and as the city and its surrounding villages expanded, the amount of raw sewage and waste entering the Forth increased dramatically. Human sewage, chemicals from textile factories, chlorine from paper mills, and coal washing runoff were the main polluters. The oil platforms built the in 1970s also did not help the situation. Edinburgh's growth from 40,000 people in 1750 to almost half a million by 1900 drove its sewage problem.[138]

Newhavener Margaret Dick reminisced about how they used to love going to Newhaven's seafront for beach barbeques that cooked fish, mussels, lobsters, and crabs, but by the mid- to late-1960s, the pollution in the Forth made it impossible to catch anything edible for their celebration, much less go for a swim in the water.[139] Anyone who swam too far out into the Forth risked swimming up into raw sewage floating in the

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[134] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*, June 3, 1989.
[135] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 631.
[136] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 137.
[137] Smout, "Garrett Hardin," 374.
[138] Ibid., 375.
[139] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 11.

water due to the open pipes pouring Edinburgh's filth into the sea, and sometimes they even saw contraceptives and toilet paper floating on the waves.[140] George Hackland got to the point where he refused to swim in the Forth between Newhaven and Granton because it was full of raw sewage.[141] When Jim Park was a teenager in the early 1940s, he and his buddy took a canoe west down the shore towards Granton, only to row right into a bunch of human excrement floating on the water as the tide came back in. That is when Jim and his friend realized they were near the sewage pipes coming from Edinburgh.[142]

Locals adamantly believed that the pollution problem got markedly worse after World War II ended but were unsure why. Population growth was a factor, and by 1970 there were 15 sewer pipes pouring refuse from Edinburgh into the Forth 24 hours a day, contaminating the waters;[143] as well as the daily emptying of the *Gardyloo*,[144] Edinburgh's sewage ship.[145] Also, the work of Newhavener Tom Hall shines light into what was going on. Tom spent much of his career working in environmental mitigation along the Firth of Forth. His work included stints serving on a survey vessel called the *Wilma Russell* for the Lothians Rivers Purification Board, which was created to monitor pollution levels of the region,[146] and later as captain on the Forth River Purification Board's ship, the *Forth Ranger*. He wrote a letter to the *Scotsman* in 1970 telling the

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[140] Garson, "Reflections on Fishin'."
[141] Newhaven History Group, interview with Denise Brace, Newhaven, March 25, 1994.
[142] Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth*, 36.
[143] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 137.
[144] The ship's name, *Gardyloo*, refers to a very old pop-culture reference in Edinburgh. In the days before proper sanitation, Edinburgh's residents had no toilets, so they would empty their waste into the street below with a warning shout of the French phrase, "Gardez l'eau!" In English, the phrase means "watch the water." As time passed, the populace corrupted the original French into their own English version of "Gardyloo!"
[145] Garner and Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[146] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 36.

public what he had seen and found, and the news was quite damning. Three rivers fed the Forth, oxygenating and pouring nutrients into it, which provided for the incredible oyster beds, schools of fish, and other Forth flora and fauna that had lived there for centuries. The sewage from Edinburgh fed swarms of bacteria that floated on the water, causing them to use up the Forth's oxygen and killing all life below the water level, as well as the surrounding flora and fauna, which could not coexist with such hazardous waste.[147]

Tom's report to the Purification Board in 1970, which he summarized in his letter to the *Scotsman*, laid out all of the causes damaging the Forth's water ecosystem. On top of Edinburgh's sewage, industrial waste from Grangemouth and several Edinburgh factories combined with the agricultural runoff from local farms, especially phosphates used in fertilizers, to create a toxic stew that was poisoning the Firth of Forth.[148] Edinburgh's sewage pipes left a slimy film atop the water for over a mile offshore from the most polluted areas; shellfish and other swimming fish were unable to live in this zone. Because of these conditions, Smout called the Firth a "situation of gross pollution."[149]

Tom Hall shared an anecdote in his letter that contained a horrifying story. On one of Tom's trips to the sewage outfall at Trinity Bay, he lowered the specimen bucket into the water, pulled it up over the side, and dumped it out into the container for examining the water's contents. After the biologist onboard wretched at the stench of the sludge before them, Tom saw something wriggling. This living thing resembled a fish,

[147] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 137.
[148] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 36.
[149] Smout, "Garrett Hardin," 377.

but not like one he had ever seen. The creature was two feet long, black, eyeless, and seemingly devoid of gills. The biologist threw the unknown thing back into the water, but not before the entire crew felt the fear of the seeing such an unnatural creature living in the Forth.[150] Tom's report explains fellow Newhavener Tam Wilson's reaction when he was asked about pollution in the Forth: "There's nae fish 'oot there, no; Grangemouth killed a' that." Despite the jobs it provided for Newhaven's former fishermen, neither Tom nor Tam liked to talk about the oil industry's effect on the village.[151]

The City of Edinburgh's treatment of the Forth over time, along with the pollutants it absorbed from the oil industry and other manufacturing and agricultural businesses, explains why so many Newhaveners remembered swimming in the Forth as children and young adults, but as they grew older, fewer and fewer people went for a swim. They refused to put their bodies in such polluted water, even if they did not fully understand what was causing it. One thing was certain, though: the Forth's ecosystem became unable to handle that pollution load, and it became fetid in the decades following the war.[152] This stagnation came at the worst possible time, too, because it coincided with the decision by many of the trawler crews to overfish, thus creating the dynamic of both harvesting too many fish while driving them away to cleaner waters out in the deep sea, waters that Newhaven's inshore yawls could not reach.[153] Cathy Lighterness summed it up this way: "It was greed, because they overfished. I mean the herring came

[150] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 37.
[151] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 631.
[152] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 36.
[153] Wilson, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, March 1995.

up to the shores, over there! That was where they picked them up. But they all overfished, and polluted the waters, and the fish disappeared."[154]

The Firth's environmental damage only began to significantly improve in the late 1970s. Entry into the European Economic Community put political pressure on all of the United Kingdom, the "dirty man of Europe," to clean up its environmental habitats. Opening the sewage treatment plant at Seafield by the Lothian Regional Council in 1978 dramatically improved the quality of water flowing back out into the Forth. Also, Parliament passed a variety of environmental protection measures meant to protect important ecosystems, like the Firth of Forth, that led to other improvements. As a result, oxygen in the water increased by over a third between 1988 and 2003, and mercury in the fish plummeted over 92% by 2005.[155]

"It Was'nae a Life for a Dog, Let Alone a Human Being"[156]

As the 1950s ended and the 1960s began, the fishing industry continued its overall decline, and the market kept losing profitability as the fisheries became more scarce.[157] There were a couple of good years where the herring briefly rebounded, including 1961[158] and 1963,[159] but the inshore fishing business, powered by the small number of Newhaven's little yawls that remained, completely disappeared by the end of the decade as the trawlers out of Granton and Leith took their place.[160] In 1961, there were only six

[154] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[155] Smout, "Garrett Hardin," 377.
[156] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 158.
[157] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 64.
[158] Joseph Roberts, interview with Helen Clark, March 9, 1991.
[159] "Ferry Town Remembers 'Caller Herrin'," *Evening Dispatch*, January 28, 1963.
[160] Roland Mann, "A Community That Won't Die," *Evening News*, March 29, 1985.

ring-net boats and 10 smaller ships in Newhaven Harbor; nine years later, there were no fishing vessels at all.[161]

The 1960s did not help the trawler industry much, either. As the decade finished, two of the largest trawler owners stopped finishing: Walter K. Paton LTD, and TL Devlin LTD, who had 19 trawlers in the 1930s. Only three locally-owned trawler owners remained as the 1970s started; William Liston was among them.[162] After modernizing his trawler fleet, Willie survived the Newhaven fishing industry's declining years by buying up fishing firms as they shut down, including purchasing several trawlers from small companies around the Forth who were looking to sell their ships and get out of the business.[163] George Campbell, who served as one of Newhaven's blacksmiths, summarized what many of the Newhaveners shared, that the 1960s put an end of Newhaven's fishing business, and everyone had to adjust their professions accordingly.[164]

The final main factor that local media, visiting outsiders, and some of the villagers blame for Newhaven's decline was generational disinterest in continuing in the fishing industry. With each passing decade following the launch of the *Reliance*, Newhaven's inshore yawl fisher families had to compete with increasingly technologically-advanced ships that negated their centuries-long generational fishing expertise on the Forth's waters, expertise that had given them the competitive edge for four centuries. But as fish got harder to find and catch in the 1950s and 1960s, many of Newhaven's fishermen transitioned into other jobs, such as working in the oil industry or

[161] Our Special Correspondent, "Newhaven's Society of Free Fishermen," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 21, 1961.
[162] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 38.
[163] William Liston, interview with Jane George, June 27, 1995.
[164] George Campbell, interview with Pat Gawler, Newhaven, December 14, 1993.

traveling elsewhere to work in fishing.[165] The rest of the men went to work on land, and as the *Edinburgh Evening News* lamented in 1952, "in many cases their generation is the first that has had to turn to the land for a living."[166]

As the men, many of them fathers, left fishing, their sons began to look elsewhere for work.[167] Having seen "the other side" during the war, as well as witnessing first-hand the daily hardships of fishing, this was not a hard transition for Newhaven's youth. Change had swept away their centuries-old way-of-life: the war generation did not have the same opportunities to succeed that their grandfathers and grandmothers had, forcing many of them to leave the village or the fishing industry entirely.[168] The same dynamic occurred for Newhaven's daughters. As their fathers left fishing, their mothers no longer needed to walk or drive the streets of Edinburgh to sell fresh fish, so their daughters also began to consider other occupations. The fact that Newhaveners enjoyed going to the movies each week also showed them more of the outside world and possibilities beyond fishing.

The exact time period when it became acceptable to leave fishing is not clear. However, we can see signs that the villagers gradually changed their minds about what their children should, and could, be doing. Several Newhaveners admitted their parents quietly told them before World War II that if they could do something else besides fishing, then they should.[169] There is some evidence that this same generation of parents, born during or just after World War I, was the first to marry outside the village in large

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[165] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 37-38.

[166] K. Robertson, "Discontent Among Newhaven Fishers: Poor Prices Driving More to Land."

[167] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

[168] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*.

[169] Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.

numbers, much to their parents' frustration, and sometimes, embarrassment.[170] In other words, they were willing to challenge Newhaven's traditional customs, even if only a little. Once the war ended in 1945 and the possibility now existed that their children could leave fishing, many of Newhaven's parents did not want their children "to enter an occupation that [had] such hard work, long hours, and uncertain return," and great danger.[171] Most parents want their children to do better than they did, and the Newhavener parents of this era were no different.[172]

James Watson,[173] Mary Clement,[174] Margaret Campbell,[175] Cathy Lighterness,[176] Peter Carnie,[177] Frances Milligan,[178] and others shared stories of how and why their families moved into other professions. For a handful of them, leaving fishing began with their parents, and for others, it began with them or their children; the generation that left depended on the family and its particular circumstances. James Watson's father told his remembrance group in 1993: "My father was on the trawlers. He would'nae let me go near them – said it was'nae a life for a dog, let alone a human being." So James became a fish salesman;[179] Mary Clement's brother did the same.[180] Selling fish lessened the sting of leaving because they were technically still in the fishing business.

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[170] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, May 30, 2014.
[171] A.M.M., "No Eight-Hour Day for the Fisherwife."
[172] Mary Clement, interview with author, Newhaven, May 19, 2014.
[173] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 158.
[174] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.
[175] Margaret Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[176] Debbie Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[177] "Newhaven's Oysters…," *Evening News*, May 2, 1983.
[178] Frances Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, December 7, 1993.
[179] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 158.
[180] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.

As the fishing industry "got less and less," the fisher children chose other careers, like insurance, banking, the Civil Service, and so on.[181] All of Margaret Campbell's grandmother's children chose professions other than fishing.[182] Cathy Lighterness' parents, whose father chose to leave fishing and work in ship-building, wanted her to have a better life than they had, and they strongly encouraged her to do so. Some of Cathy's family even left Newhaven in the 1960s for Canada because they could not find work, so they had to start anew.[183] Peter Carnie's mother worked as a fishwife her entire life, but he and his brother both chose to not work at sea, the first in the family's history to quit the fishing. Peter, who would later own the Peacock Hotel, said that he while he loved his work, he had "occasional misgivings about that [leaving fishing]."[184]

Finally, Frances Milligan shared a viewpoint that only a few others shared: the next generation could have become fisher people but simply refused to follow in their parents' footsteps. Frances said some of her girlfriends saw this as a betrayal of the village's heritage, and refusing to become fisher people only made Newhaven's situation worse because it reduced the number of capable fishermen, giving even further incentive for the "boats to stop using Newhaven Harbor and move out to Aberdeen." Frances' lamented the change but completely understood it; she said she would have done the same and almost did. Frances did not want to become a fishwife as a young woman, but she acquiesced when her mother forced her to take up the creel.[185]

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[181] John Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, Newhaven, March 8, 1994.
[182] Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, December 8, 1993.
[183] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[184] "Newhaven's Oysters…," *Evening News*.
[185] Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, December 7, 1993.

The local media publicized Newhaven's decline. In 1947, the *Edinburgh Evening News* wrote a story reversing its previous position from three years earlier, saying that the fishwife profession was, in fact, disappearing, and it blamed the younger generation for being unwilling to take up the creel and follow in their mothers' footsteps. A Mrs. Thorburn told the reporter that her daughter's generation preferred office work to fishing.[186] John Wilson suggested that "what really hammered Newhaven… everybody got into the trawlers where they could get a steady wage." Because trawler technology increased the chances of landing a good catch at the end of every trip, as well as lessening the danger of being on the high seas, the trawlers proved a strong temptation away from the family-owned ships sitting in Newhaven Harbor every night.[187]

In 1952, the *Edinburgh Evening News* lamented that many of the Forth's fishermen were being forced to change professions, including those in Newhaven. It described Newhaven's situation as being in a "present malaise" that required outside invention to help the struggling fisher families. The author offered the following as a solution for the problem: more government funds, a "comprehensive Fish Marketing Board" for the entire country, and the building of more factories that used surplus fish to produce fishmeal.[188]

A year later, the same newspaper wrote that generations of tradition, hard work, and wisdom would be lost if the present generation did not find a way to make fishing profitable and continue on in the way of its ancestors. It pointed out that few boys were following in their dads' footsteps, and because of it, "crews [were] deteriorating because

[186] A.M.M., "No Eight-Hour Day for the Fisherwife."
[187] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 161.
[188] H.M., "High Costs and the Fishermen."

[they were] not getting any experienced men."[189] A 1957 article about the Fisherlassies' Choir credited them with filling "a distinct place in the now diminishing character of Newhaven."[190] Everyone in the area knew that Newhaven was declining and had declined over the past three decades; it was no longer the Newhaven of 1928 where villagers were launching new fishing ships that they had built themselves for their traditional profession.

The *Evening Dispatch* regularly ran a column about local history called "Do You Know?" During the summer of 1960, "Do You Know?" pertained to Newhaven, its decline, and the changes there. The column instructed the reader about Newhaven's long fight against Edinburgh, saying, "Newhaven was absorbed within the boundaries of Edinburgh when Leith became part of the city under the amalgamation scheme forty years ago, but the ancient fishing village stubbornly retains its individuality. Into this modern world it brings picturesque touches to remind us of earlier times." The author noted that the people of the village were clinging to their customs despite the city's incorporation and the headwinds their way-of-life was facing.[191] What the author did not mention: Newhaven's voting-age eligible population had dropped from 850 to 655 in just ten years.[192]

The Last Fishwife

Of particular interest to the Edinburgh media during this period was Esther Liston, the last Newhaven fishwife who became a local celebrity and icon in her later

[189] K. Robertson, "Discontent Among Newhaven Fishers: Poor Prices Driving More to Land."
[190] David Kennedy, "Letter to the Editor," *Edinburgh Evening News*, October 26, 1957.
[191] "Do You Know?," *Evening Dispatch*, July 18, 1960.
[192] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 64.

years. Esther represented everything the media liked to project about Newhaven, as well as the best parts of Newhaven that the villagers were fond to remember. In their minds, she was a hard-working fishwife who persevered even though everyone else gave up on Newhaven's old ways, so she garnered much respect for her strength and tenacity. Her life, and the changes she endured as Newhaven transformed around her, was emblematic of what happened to fishing village itself.

Esther was born in Newhaven in 1896.[193] Her mother and grandmother were both fishwives,[194] but for her entire childhood, her mother insisted that she would not let her daughter follow in her footsteps.[195] Esther married George Liston, a fisherman from the village, and had two sons, but when George suddenly died in September 1932, she had no choice but to "take up the creel and sell the fish" in order to provide for her boys.[196] So at age 36, Esther ended up doing the very thing her mother warned her against for all those years.[197]

Because her mother and grandmother still worked as fishwives and had developed good reputations along their selling routes, Esther learned the trade from them, and these three generations of women from the same family worked the streets selling fish door-to-door. Esther and her family encouraged their grandmother to stop selling for years, but her grandmother refused until she was no longer physically capable of walking the streets carrying the creel. When her grandmother finally did stop selling at age 70, she began receiving a pension of £1 a month from the Society of Free Fishermen. Several of

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[193] "Ancient Blended With the Modern: Parliament Square-Old Town's Heart," *Evening News*, August 8, 1976.

[194] E.N.A., "Newhaven Fishwife: Carrying the Creel," *The Scotsman*, May 3, 1956.

[195] Hugo Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them," *Scottish Daily Mail*, September 29, 1950.

[196] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 631.

[197] Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them."

Esther's mother's customers in Lanark wanted her to open a fish shop in their neighborhood, getting her off the street but keeping her in the business. Her mother appreciated the sentiment but never took the suggestion seriously.[198] In time, Esther sold along her own designated route, but as her reputation for fresh fish at a good price grew, she began selling in later years to specific, very loyal customers.[199]

The media's first notice of Esther took place in 1950 when the *Scottish Daily Mail* wrote a piece about how the girls of Newhaven now "preferred other ways to make their living," rejecting the hardships of the fishwife life, but Esther Liston defied everyone by continuing in her family's footsteps. The "last of her species," Esther was the only Newhaven woman working full-time walking the streets of Edinburgh. There were other fishwives, but they used vans to sell the fish their husbands caught; most of them had other jobs, too. At 54, Esther was determined to work in her job until her body could no longer carry the creel. She said she enjoyed her work, and her loyal customers needed her to bring them the best fish of Newhaven. This work involved a three-mile trek through Edinburgh three times a week.[200] When asked if she would change jobs if given the opportunity, Esther refused and said that Newhaveners usually made a good living, better than the surrounding villages, thus adding to their desire to remain apart from other Scottish fisher folk living near them.[201]

Six years later, the *Scotsman* profiled Esther and described her as an icon throughout Newhaven and its neighbors; "everyone" knew where Esther lived on Ann

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[198] Kitty Banyards and Esther Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, Newhaven, November 1993.

[199] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 631.

[200] Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them."

[201] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 20.

Street. The article referred to her as the last of the Newhaven fishwives, a fisher woman who served a very grateful group of customers thankful to have her still delivering fresh fish to their door. Some of them had even been her customers since 1932. Esther told the reporter that "it [had] been a good life, carrying the creel." She rarely got sick and was in excellent condition. The winter "never bothered her" because her fishwife costume kept her warm, and she spent her free time crocheting and singing in the Fisherwomen's Choir.[202]

After the 1957 profile, Esther's story appeared periodically in Edinburgh's newspapers, and these stories included pictures of her carrying the creel on the streets of some Edinburgh neighborhood. The most popular photo the newspapers used came from 1962,[203] and it showed Esther walking along in her fishwife costume hunched over with a heavy creel on her back.[204] The phrase "last of the fishwives of Newhaven" always accompanied these stories and photos, and they were usually glowing and very complimentary of her life, even to the point of being overly nostalgic.[205]

By the time Esther retired at age 78 in 1974, a lot had changed in Newhaven. When she started selling in 1932, her haddock sold for 18 pence a box, but by the time she stopped selling, the same box sold for about £24.[206] Like almost all of the other Newhaveners, the Edinburgh Town Council forced Esther out of her home in 1959 after an inspector declared it to be substandard; but unlike many of the villagers, Esther fought to return to Newhaven after the Council rebuilt it by putting pressure on Newhaven's city

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[202] E.N.A., "Newhaven Fishwife: Carrying the Creel."

[203] "Flashback-Esther Liston," *Evening News*, March 27, 1991.

[204] Sandra Dick, "Catching Up on the Great Age of Fishing," *Evening News*, January 13, 2007, 6.

[205] "Ancient Blended With the Modern: Parliament Square-Old Town's Heart," *Evening News*.

[206] Banyards and Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, November 1993.

councillor to let her back in. She succeeded and bought a remodeled home at 32 Main Street, living there for the rest of her life.[207] Like her own mother, Esther encouraged her sons to do whatever they wanted to do with their professional careers. She did not want them to have as hard a life as hers; so one went into banking, and the other became an electrician.[208]

Esther Liston enjoyed a great reputation among the Newhaveners, and those who know about her life still speak very highly of her.[209] Cathy Lighterness lived near Esther on Main Street and described her as a kind, "very hard-working woman." Cathy's husband would wash Esther's windows as a way to serve her each week.[210] Newhaven resident Margaret Garner used the words "strong" and "fine" to describe Esther. Margaret recalled seeing Esther one day while walking through Edinburgh's New Town and feeling great amazement at the sight. She said she thought, "Oh my goodness; there's a fishwife. I think she went to these specific addresses to take fish; it was strange, like seeing a ghost from the past."[211] Finally, when talking with Diana Morton at the Museum of Edinburgh headquarters, Morton mentioned that Esther suffered the same fate as so many other Newhaven fisher women over the generations who lost their husbands to the sea, and once their husbands were gone, they had to provide for their families. It was the Newhaven way: to persevere despite any challenges.[212]

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[207] "Ancient Blended With the Modern: Parliament Square-Old Town's Heart," *Evening News*.
[208] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[209] Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, January 13, 1994.
[210] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[211] Garner and Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[212] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.

Conclusion

When life changes, it is easy for the changes to go unnoticed because we are living through the changes as they occur; but then when things settle down and we look back and review the past, we realize just how much has changed over the years.[213] This is what happened to the people of Newhaven. Technological advancement, overfishing, pollution, and generational disinterest in the fishing industry simultaneously contributed to Newhaven's decline by hurting the village's fishing industry, but these four factors did so at different paces through time.

Even though the late 1930s saw some concern among the people of Newhaven that things were changing, it really was not until after World War II that the villagers took notice of the changes and that which had already changed. The villagers became more aware of these factors and understood them to varying degrees as time passed, but it is doubtful any of them had a strong sense of what was really going on as it happened.

Of the four deteriorating factors, Newhaveners were most aware of technology's part in affecting Newhaven, and they had been for a long time. The introduction of the trawler ship and its ability to harvest large amounts of fish in the 1870s began the long process of slowly but surely chipping away at the competitive advantage the fishermen of Newhaven possessed over Firth of Forth fishing, expertise they had gained after generations of practice.[214] As time passed, better technology gave neighboring villages and outsider companies the means to "catch up" with the Newhaveners. New technology bridged the gap between Newhavener's superior fishing expertise and that of their

[213] Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.

[214] Wilson, *Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven*, 54.

competitors, and as seafaring technology improved, especially once trawlers started coming equipped with diesel engines and sonar, the villagers' expertise and its value faded into uselessness, dooming the inshore yawl industry. As Ian Smith said, there was "less fish coming in, and technology took over and all."[215]

By the 1950s, the people of Newhaven and Edinburgh-area media strongly suspected that fish were disappearing from the Firth of Forth based on the catches landed at Newhaven Harbor and the decreasing number of ships harbored there. Overfishing driven by greed and empowered by advanced technology harvested the next generation of fish before they could mature and reproduce. Unfortunately, the wide-spread growth of this illegal practice coincided with the Firth of Forth's inability to process the ever-increasing amounts of pollution Edinburgh and the surrounding communities were pouring into it, causing those fish that remained uncaught to move further out to sea in order to survive. It was too dangerous for Newhaven's inshore yawls to safely go into the North Sea to fish, but since the trawlers could do it, then one by one, Newhaven's fisher families had to make the hard choice of either working on a trawler or leave fishing altogether for another profession. In time, most of the villagers chose the latter.

The last major factor of generational disinterest was not as widely known or credited by Newhaveners and local media for causing Newhaven's decline as the other three, but today we can see its effect in changing the village. Because generational disinterest in Newhaven's ancient profession represented a cultural shift, it occurred more slowly and insidiously. As the villagers from the World War II era shared, their parents secretly told them they could go into other professions, even encouraging them to do so at

[215] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, John Stephenson, and Amanda Wilson, interview with author, Newhaven, March 25, 2015.

times, depending on the family. The war significantly altered lives, showing them that change was possible and there were other professions they might enjoy. Despite MP Ernest Brown's instruction to the children of Newhaven to keep providing fish for Edinburgh just like their forefathers, the vast majority of them chose to leave fishing behind when the opportunity presented itself. As grueling as fishing was on all members of fisher families, we can understand their reasoning.

Rena Barnes made the point that since the fishing was gone, the fisher people left, and that fundamentally changed Newhaven.[216] After all, Newhaven was a fishing village, so when the fishing stopped, the village ceased to be what it was and became something else. This chapter was about what happened to the fishing and how four main macro-level factors permanently altered Newhaven. Chapter 5 is about what happened to the people and how the City of Edinburgh removed them once they no longer provided fish for the city and surrounding villages.

[216] Rena Barnes, interview with Jane George, March 10, 1994.

# Chapter 5

## The Clearances

### Introduction

Far too often throughout the course of human history, great injustice has been committed in the name of "progress." For 450 years, Newhaven and Edinburgh coexisted as neighbors, with the small fishing village sitting on the shores of the Firth of Forth due north of Scotland's capital city. The relationship between Newhaven's villagers and Edinburgh's leaders never included good communication or mutual respect, but the two communities managed to live alongside each other somewhat peacefully. When Edinburgh absorbed Newhaven and neighboring Leith into itself in the 1920 incorporation, Edinburgh's power over Newhaven grew exponentially, as now the Edinburgh Corporation, through the Edinburgh Town Council, served as Newhaven's government. The people of Newhaven had provided an important service to Edinburgh for many centuries: they caught and sold fish that fed the capital city's residents, but when the fishing and the village declined, Newhaven's usefulness to Edinburgh declined, too. Since 1504, Edinburgh's leaders had tolerated the poor fisherfolk of Newhaven, overlooking their "slum" houses, outdoor toilets, and poverty-stricken village, but that all changed in 1958.

Chapter 5 examines the turbulent 20 years of Newhaven's history, from 1958 until 1978, when two main events occurred: the Edinburgh Town Council's redevelopment of Newhaven and the forced amalgamation of Newhaven's two churches by the Church of Scotland. The Redevelopment involved the use of compulsory purchasing by the Council to buy up all of the Newhaveners' homes and force them out

of the village through the process of tearing down those homes and replacing them with modern ones. Then the Council prevented most of the villagers from returning to Newhaven's newly-built, Council-owned homes by choosing mostly "outsiders" to take up residence in the reconstructed Newhaven, thus precluding a rebirth of the village.

As the City of Edinburgh was completing the Redevelopment, the Church of Scotland, for primarily financial reasons, decided that Newhaven was too small to support two churches. The forced amalgamation of St. Andrews and Newhaven Parish Church combined the churches into one congregation in 1974. This further eroded the community bonds already weakened by the Redevelopment due to the challenge the parishioners faced becoming a single community of worship for the first time in a century. It also destroyed one of Newhaven's remaining sites of belonging at a time when the Newhaveners needed those spaces to persevere through Newhaven's dramatic alteration by the Council. Both of these catastrophic events came from powerful forces outside the village, and each of them accelerated Newhaven's ongoing decline, ensuring the demise of the ancient village and creating a new modern neighborhood in its place.

The process Edinburgh used to transform Newhaven into a new neighborhood for capital city residents to move into was called the modernization of substandard housing by the City of Edinburgh Council, which designated Newhaven as being "clearance areas advisable" in the late 1950s,[1] but it was more often commonly known in the realm of urban renewal as "slum clearance." Slums were defined as areas that did not meet contemporary building standards and city officials did not consider the houses to be safe for habitation. Beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century, urban renewal was a

[1] Edinburgh Town Council Housing Committee, "Minutes of Meetings," November 17, 1964, City of Edinburgh Archives, City Chambers, Edinburgh, 181.

movement to clear them away and build better homes in their place.[2] The term for the forced destruction of people's homes and ancient way-of-life, along with their mandatory dislocation, against their will is "domicide."[3] Both caused severe disruption and trauma for Newhaven's villagers, including death for some of Newhaven's oldest residents who could not tolerate the stress brought by those changes. For these reasons, the villagers re-appropriated a name from one of the darkest eras in Scottish history. They refer to the Council's redevelopment of Newhaven as "the Clearances," the pejorative used for the period between the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries when Scotland's ruling class forcibly displaced thousands from their lands to make room for sheep farming and decrease the power of the north's most influential clans.[4]

The Council's process for redeveloping Newhaven strongly resembled a pattern used by the governing elites of other large cities against small, marginalized communities who stood in the way of the next big urban renewal project.[5] For purposes of brevity, I will refer to this as the Newhaven Pattern. The Newhaven Pattern has four key components, summarized briefly here but expounded upon in more detail later in the chapter. First, the governing authority creates a plan for imposing new, higher standards of living on residents' homes. This includes the possibility of removing homes that fall below this standard, and it justifies the government's narrative about the need to redevelop an area. Second, at a later date the governing authority initiates the process of condemning a neighborhood's homes and taking ownership of them. Third, government

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[2] Jim Yelling, "The Incidence of Slum Clearance in England and Wales, 1955-85," *Urban History* 27, no. 2 (August 2000): 235.

[3] J. Douglas Porteous and Sandra E. Smith, *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001), 3-4.

[4] Ibid., 115.

[5] Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 172.

officials communicate very poorly with those who are losing their homes, confusing them about their rights throughout the process. Finally, once the governing authority finishes the clearance project, it prevents many of the previous residents from moving back into the homes that it now owns in their former living space. All of these steps are legal, yet none of them are just to those displaced and dispossessed. As we shall see, Newhaven's redevelopment experience at the hands of the City of Edinburgh Council serves as a frightening warning and an instructive example for all other "little" places around the world who fear the same fate.

Combined with the fishing decline of the post-World War II period, the Council's massive reconstruction of Newhaven ushered the village into its new, and now current, position as just another picturesque residential neighborhood of Edinburgh, ending 450 years of independent village life. This chapter begins with the Edinburgh Town Council's initial reasoning behind forcing such drastic change upon the people of Newhaven.

Too Many Villages, Not Enough Neighborhoods

The history of Edinburgh is long and complicated, with people living on Castle Rock[6] and on the land around it since at least 1000 B.C. King David I made Edinburgh a royal burgh in 1130, and the city has served as the nation's capital since 1437 when it replaced the town of Scone.[7] As a royal burgh, Edinburgh possessed "unitary authority" to request the annexation of nearby localities from the U.K. Parliament,[8] so over the past

[6] The dormant volcano at the center of the city, the site of Edinburgh Castle, which overlooks all of Edinburgh.

[7] Alan Stewart, *Tracing Your Edinburgh Ancestors* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books, 2015), 13.

[8] Ibid., 1.

several centuries, the city grew primarily by forcibly absorbing surrounding areas into its political boundaries, especially during the 1856-1920 expansion period when the vast majority of these integrated areas had been long-established small towns or villages with their own histories.[9] Edinburgh used to be surrounded by at least 45 small towns or villages, and on top of that, there were several dozen "areas" where people lived that were not organized as political entities or legally-recognized locations.[10] These areas or former villages, after major redevelopment by the Town Council (many of them slum clearance projects), became neighborhoods in the Scottish capital city.

As Edinburgh grew in population and needed to expand its borders, it seems logical that the capital's political leaders would simply begin incorporating neighboring locales as the city's boundaries bumped into them. However, absorption into Edinburgh meant the dissolution of what was already there, a place with meaning where residents had formed their own individual and collective identities. This dissolution usually brought with it great disruption, some form of resistance, and deep-seated trauma by local folks who did not want to become a part of the capital city.

Newhaven was no exception. Referring to Edinburgh's growth and forced annexation of its surrounding villages over the years, Newhavener Mina Ritchie put it this way: "They did that with every village in Edinburgh - Stockbridge and Stateford, there were all villages right around."[11] Cathy Lighterness agreed with Mina's comment, declaring that "Christorfin, Gummerley, they were all villages… But you had no choice

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[9] Michael Lynch and Archie Rule Turnbull, "Edinburgh, Scotland," *Britannica*, last accessed December 11, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/place/Edinburgh-Scotland.

[10] E.M. Jack, "Map of Edinburgh, Scotland," Ordnance Survey Office, 1926, last accessed December 29, 2019, https://maps.nls.uk/view/74400710.

[11] Mary Kay and Mina Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 17, 1994.

[but to become a part of Edinburgh]."[12] Forced integration, and the chaos and trauma it unleashed, led to today's lingering resentment of the City of Edinburgh Council among the remnant of Newhaveners who grew up in the village yet managed to move back in after the city completed the Redevelopment.

Because so many villages lost their independence, there were at least four dozen monographs that were found in my research dedicated to the unique histories and cultures of Edinburgh's "villages." In fact, Edinburgh is commonly referred to by travel guides and general information articles as a "city of villages." The key takeaway from these works is that something was being lost, so the authors felt the need to write about what was there before it faded away. The authors captured the memories of those Scots who lost their villages to the capital city and saw both their collective and individual identities changed forever. Joyce Wallace's *Traditions of Trinity and Leith*[13] and William Baird's *Annals of Duddingston and Portobello*[14] are two such examples of these works, but perhaps the most illuminating for our look into Newhaven's story is a work that has been referenced several times already in this dissertation, Malcolm Cant's *Villages of Edinburgh, Volumes 1 and 2*.[15]

Malcolm Cant spent his two-part work describing the history, culture, and interesting anecdotes of seventeen of the villages Edinburgh absorbed, including Newhaven. The first volume focused on nine villages in northern Edinburgh, the second volume on eight villages in the southern half. He told the reader in his introduction that

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[12] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, May 30, 2014.

[13] Joyce Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985).

[14] William Baird, *Annals of Duddingston and Portobello* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliott, 1898).

[15] Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, Vol. 1 & Vol. 2* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1986).

Edinburgh's leaders unleashed a "tide of destruction" upon the city's surrounding villages, "almost completely destroy[ing]" the small village communities that had existed as Edinburgh's neighbors, some for hundreds of years. With so many villages to choose from, he chose to write about those villages where he could personally go and "see what was left" after being "lost to progress."[16]

According to Cant, the people who lived in his seventeen selected villages had managed to preserve significant parts of their own culture and heritage, despite being forcibly transformed into neighborhoods with modern amenities for capital city residents to enjoy.[17] In Newhaven, Cant found a young neighborhood full of both new and long-time residents, and an old guard determined to protect the memory of Newhaven's former way-of-life. These residents did not welcome change or fresh faces into Newhaven, but more importantly for the Edinburgh Town Council, they also could not prevent outsiders from moving into the former-slum, now-contemporary neighborhood.[18]

Too Many People, Not Enough Modern Housing

From 1918 to 1939, Edinburgh's population almost doubled as Scots from rural areas moved into the city. During this time, the Edinburgh Town Council spent just over £38 million on neighborhood development without any kind of central planning by the city government. By 1931, 44% of all Scots lived in housing with one or two rooms.[19] Central Edinburgh's rapid growth caused its borders to converge with and subsume numerous towns and villages that had been autonomous villages separate from the capital

[16] Ibid., ix.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 152.
[19] J. Butt, "Working Class Housing in Scottish Cities," in *Scottish Urban History*, eds. George Gordon and Brian Dicks (Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen, 1983), 234.

city. Edinburgh's leaders have a long history of taking a strong interest in urban planning and determining the layout and structure of their city, and they were always deeply involved in the decision-making process to annex more areas into Edinburgh's borders.[20]

Meanwhile, during the interwar period, Parliament passed a series of Housing Acts aimed at addressing Great Britain's massive dilapidated housing problem. Building upon the Housing, Town Planning Act of 1909, which gave municipalities the power to improve housing within their own boundaries,[21] legislation in 1919, 1930, 1933, and 1935 all attempted to foster the construction of more houses with better standards of living for Britain's working and middle classes.[22] Parliament offered housing subsidies to local governments for every home or apartment built. By 1950, 96.6% of all new homes in Scotland were publicly-owned.[23] As World War II came to a close, Edinburgh faced overcrowding pressure due to slower home building during the war,[24] so near the end of the war, in order to adequately prepare for future growth, the Council chose to look to the city planning work of Sir Patrick Geddes for guidance.[25]

A biologist by profession, Sir Patrick Geddes became famous as the twentieth century began for proposing plans that struck a balance between the lived experiences of both town and county, urban and rural. To achieve urban renewal in slums or run-down areas, he advocated for the use of "conservative surgery," which meant transforming city landscapes in small steps while doing everything possible to preserve the structural and

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[20] R. G. Rodger, "The Evolution of Scottish Town Planning," in *Scottish Urban History*, eds. George Gordon and Brian Dicks (Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen, 1983), 75.

[21] J. Butt, "Working Class Housing," 238.

[22] "The History of Council Housing," University of the West of England, last accessed April 1, 2020, https://fet.uwe.ac.uk/conweb/house_ages/council_housing/print.htm.

[23] J. Butt, "Working Class Housing," 247.

[24] Ibid., 256.

[25] Richard Moira, "Review of A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh," *The Town Planning Review* Vol. 21, no. 1 (April 1950): 82.

social fabric that already existed there. This concept sounds logical and reasonable, even well-intended, but it is important to remember that Geddes' "conservative surgery" still required the displacement of many families and destruction of their homes in the name of progress. It was completely utilitarian, despite its efforts to limit any damage to the people it affected.[26]

For Geddes, cities organically evolved just like plants and animals, and the best planners kept this in mind as they sought to guide city growth. His 1915 book *Cities in Evolution* laid out his theoretical concepts for his revolutionary city planning methods. By working block-by-block or on a single street, the Geddes method evaluated the needs of an area, then proposed either a restorative program or complete reconstruction for the area that would best serve the needs of modern city life.[27] Responding to the excesses of the Industrial Revolution, and influenced by the Garden City movement, the balance Geddes envisioned included greenscapes and open spaces for urban dwellers to be able to connect with nature, which he considered to be an integral part of the human experience.[28] These concepts had led a previous generation of Edinburgh's leaders to turn to Geddes to reconstruct Edinburgh's Old Town, which he did to great acclaim before he died in 1932. Because of Geddes' huge success clearing out the Old Town's slums, reconstructing the Royal Mile, and reconfiguring the blocks around the University of Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Town Council turned to one of Geddes' biggest followers, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, to lead Edinburgh's city planning once World War II ended.

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[26] Rachel Haworth, "Patrick Geddes' Concept of Conservative Surgery," *Architectural Heritage* 11, Issue 1 (2011): 38.

[27] D.J. Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation and Domicide in Edinburgh, 1950-1975" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2019), 55.

[28] Michael Batty and Stephen Marshall, "The Evolution of Cities: Geddes, Abercrombie and the New Physicalism," *Town Planning Review* 80, no. 6 (2009): 556-7.

A "self-styled Geddesian," Sir Patrick Abercrombie "defined Town and Country Planning," as it came to be called, in Great Britain. It was even the title of a short book he published in 1933 on modern city planning ideology. Abercrombie made a name for himself for his work in Greater London, overseeing a massive reconstruction program that cleared away hundreds of slum houses and rebuilt these formerly run-down spaces into modern neighborhoods.[29] This was exactly the kind of experience Edinburgh's town councillors were looking for in a city planner.

In May 1943, the Town Council set up the Advisory Committee on City Development to produce a report governing future expansion within Edinburgh, as well as to report on the housing conditions of the capital city's residences. The Council placed a host of Edinburgh's preeminent current and former leaders on the committee, and it sought the public's input for two weeks through back page notices in the *Scotsman* before beginning its deliberations. After receiving only limited public input, the committee presented its report to the Council in October, entitling it *The Future of Edinburgh – Report of the Advisory Committee on City Development 1943*.[30]

The committee arrived at nineteen main conclusions, but only two of them are germane here. First, Edinburgh held a unique place in Great Britain as a truly remarkable city, and because of its extraordinary heritage, Edinburgh required its own distinct urban development plan that preserved the many precious elements that made it so special;[31] and second, several areas of the city were "overcrowded" and required immediate

[29] Batty and Marshall, "The Evolution of Cities," 561.
[30] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 53.
[31] J.L. Clyde, T.B. Whitson, and J.D. Pollock, *The Future of Edinburgh: Report of the Advisory Committee on City Development* (Edinburgh, 1943), 5.

attention in order to prepare for future growth.[32] This was the first step in the Newhaven Pattern that governing elites used for clearing substandard housing: impose higher standards of living on the city's houses (which in itself is not a bad thing because the goal is better living spaces); and then create a plan for addressing those homes that fall below the new standard. The committee wanted the city to encourage Edinburgh's industries to move from central Edinburgh out to its borders, opening up land within the city for redevelopment. The report also instructed to the Council to begin relocating city residents in Edinburgh's "defective cores" and "borderline fringe" areas to new housing on the edge of town, then reconstructing their former slums into modern neighborhoods.[33]

With their *Future of Edinburgh* plan in hand, the city's councillors set to work on implementing its recommendations. First, the Council created a Housing Committee in May 1944 to identify future locations suitable for new housing schemes and coordinate any city redevelopment plans,[34] and a year later, the Council appointed Sir Patrick Abercrombie to his new city planning consultant role in order to prepare a long-term city redevelopment plan for Edinburgh built upon the *Future of Edinburgh*'s recommendations.[35] Abercrombie and Town Planning Officer Derek Plumstead set out to write the report immediately, which took almost two years to finish.[36] The Council would also constitute a full Planning Committee in 1949 with the authority to lead the city's urban development efforts, taking pressure off the Housing Committee and allowing it to focus solely on regulating the city's housing.[37]

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[32] Ibid., 18.
[33] Ibid., 13.
[34] Edinburgh Town Council, "Minutes of Meetings," Meeting of May 4, 1944, City of Edinburgh Archives, City Chambers, Edinburgh.
[35] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 56.
[36] Moira, "Review," 82.
[37] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 66.

Abercrombie and Plumstead submitted their report to the Edinburgh Town Council in October 1947, calling it *A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh* and publishing it in 1949. The *Survey* concluded that in order to successfully fulfill the Council's vision of becoming a premiere European capital city, Edinburgh's expansion would need to come through the "integration of existing social and material elements," i.e. absorbing the surrounding towns and villages into itself, and breaking up those villages already under Edinburgh municipal authority and replacing them with neighborhoods open to all capital city residents. It reported that 30% of Edinburgh's population lived in overcrowded and sub-standard accommodation, often in one- or two-room dwellings with little or no amenities. The Appendix on Conditions of Dwellings said that Newhaven specifically had 1147 total dwellings; 790, or 69%, were classified as defective, meaning some combination of lacking washing amenities and toilets, overcrowding, or shabby external structures. Of these, 766 had no bathroom at all.[38]

Abercrombie's *Survey* proposed four main policy proposals for moving forward, with the fourth directly affecting Newhaven.[39] In order to address the high concentration of people living in Edinburgh's poorest areas, like Leith and Dalry, by "regrouping within municipal boundaries," the fourth recommendation instructed the city to reduce population sizes and "integrate" capital residents by breaking up local historical communities and moving them into other areas, which were newly-defined urban districts as proposed by Abercrombie and Plumstead that the pair created for the Edinburgh of

[38] Chris Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community" (unpublished manuscript, 2013), 134.

[39] P. Abercrombie and D. Plumstead, *A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1949), 47.

tomorrow. The Council called this process "decongesting,"[40] but it was really a step-by-step process for domicide throughout Edinburgh.[41]

The *Survey* mentioned the need to formulate plans that addressed congestion and slum-related problems in Portobello, Colinton, Corstophine, Cramond, and Newhaven in the near future.[42] This point in the plan reflected a false premise embraced by most urban planners at that time: the belief that "the physical attributes of dilapidated neighborhoods were to blame for the blighted conditions and social ills that inflicted those neighborhoods," and the only solution to the area's problems was improving the built environment.[43] As a part of the city's overall narrative justifying its actions, the *Survey* also promised to preserve Edinburgh's neighborhoods' character and purpose while reducing the number of people there and transforming local housing into modern accommodations. The introduction by former Edinburgh Lord Provost Andrew Murray offered a candid warning to all capital city residents.[44] Murray said that "buildings outworn in their usefulness and forms of architecture that are ugly and without merit must yield their place to new ideas and new conceptions."[45] The new Town and County Planning (Scotland) Act 1947 gave the plan the legal authority required for implementation by Edinburgh city government.[46]

The *Survey*'s overall conclusion was not easily discernable, though, to the average person. The format Abercrombie and Plumstead used contained a variety of maps,

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[40] Moira, "Review," 84.
[41] Chris Garner and D.J. Johnston-Smith, interview with author, Newhaven, June 5, 2015.
[42] Abercrombie and Plumstead, *Civic Survey*, 48.
[43] Scott Larsen, "Jacobs Versus Moses: A Fight for the City's Soul," in *Building Like Moses with Jacobs in Mind* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 6.
[44] Moira, "Review," 86.
[45] Abercrombie and Plumstead, *Civic Survey*, iv.
[46] Moira, "Review," 83.

captions, photographs, and colored charts to present the problem facing Edinburgh and propose a way forward. Abercrombie and Plumstead hailed this as revolutionary in the course of civic planning, but the effect of more maps and fewer words made the plan much harder to understand for the untrained eye. In other words, the public had a hard time understanding the plan and grasping the changes it proposed. It seems very likely that this was done on purpose. When Richard Moira reviewed the *Survey* for *The Town Planning Review* in 1950, he wrote that the "*Survey* tends towards a self-interest, and the *Plan* to a superficial polishing and streamlining of existing elements."[47]

Even though Abercrombie's *Survey* proposed to do more than Geddes's had in his "conservative surgery" proposals, the Edinburgh Town Council took the *Survey* and its recommendations very seriously, and members knew they needed to act. The Planning Committee chairman called it "revolutionary" and worthy of a "long and careful study." As the Planning Committee discussed Abercrombie's recommendations, "familiar debates about place identity resurfaced," meaning they were reluctant to displace residents or change the historical nature of Edinburgh's areas.[48] The Council took eight years to begin fully implementing the *Survey*. A combination of factors, which included a nation-wide shortage of building materials, a host of bureaucratic squabbles, and the public outcry over the *Survey*'s proposed changes, caused this delay.[49] The plan also needed a political champion. Abercrombie and Plumstead found theirs in the person of Patrick Rogan.

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[47] Moira, "Review," 84.

[48] Cliff Hague, "The Changing Role of the Planner Before and After the Second World War and the Effect on Urban Reform," in *Edinburgh: Making of a Capital City*, eds. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 174.

[49] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.

Pat Rogan was elected to the Edinburgh Town Council in 1954, running on a platform that included getting rid of "poor housing" across Edinburgh.[50] Rogan served there as a Labour councillor for 20 years, representing the Holyrood ward. During his long tenure, he became Edinburgh's elected version of New York's Robert Moses,[51] a master of leveraging public monies for construction that suited his personal vision.[52] Like his American counterpart, the secret of Rogan's success was "how to remove people" who stood in the way of his public works projects.[53]

When the *Scotsman* interviewed Rogan on his ninetieth birthday in a 2009 article, he told the newspaper that his sole purpose in running for councillor "was to rid the town of the slums."[54] In 1987, reflecting on his years of service and the public works he oversaw, Rogan said that "it was a magnificent thing to watch, as I did many times, whole streets of slum tenements being demolished – all those decades of human misery and degradation just vanishing into dust and rubble!" He accomplished his slum clearances through his work on the Housing Committee during his several terms on the Council. In 1962, Rogan achieved one of his main political goals by assuming the chairmanship of the Housing Committee, the first Labour councillor to do so. He held the position for three years and used it to advance his crusade of clearing away Edinburgh's poor housing.[55]

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[50] Miles Glendinning, "Housing and Suburbanization in the Early and Mid-20th Century," in *Edinburgh: Making of a Capital City*, eds. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 158.

[51] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 77-78.

[52] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 131.

[53] Caro, *The Power Broker*, 11.

[54] The Newsroom, "Pat Rogan Helped City Destroy Its Slum Housing Shame," *The Scotsman*, January 28, 2009, last accessed April 1, 2020, https://www.scotsman.com/news/pat-rogan-helped-city-destroy-its-slum-housing-shame-2444236.

[55] Glendinning, "Housing and Suburbanization," 150.

Rogan's approach resembled Robert Moses's "meat ax" method for clearing away huge swaths of urban areas for redevelopment: it was not the "conservative surgery" of Patrick Geddes.[56] Rogan pushed the Council to become increasingly interventionist when dealing with Edinburgh's housing shortage, and his colleagues complied.[57] With the political power of Pat Rogan behind Abercrombie's *Survey*, the villagers of Newhaven had no idea how drastically the report was going to alter their way-of-life in the coming decade, even those villagers who acknowledged that something needed to be done to modernize Newhaven's houses.

Slums That Needed Replacing

By 1958, Newhaven was "a slum,"[58] an area of the city with substandard housing and dilapidated buildings, which was a problem for Edinburgh's government officials who were trying to integrate the capital city's various parts into a single ethos and provide safe neighborhoods with modern amenities for city residents.[59] Despite their poverty, Newhaveners took great pride in caring for their homes,[60] keeping them, in their words, "spic and span." Because of this, Newhaveners developed a reputation outside the village for their cleanliness.[61] But even they admitted that the village was run down,[62] with some going so far as to describe Newhaven as being "a dump," and for outsiders, an eyesore.[63]

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[56] Caro, *The Power Broker*, 849.
[57] Glendinning, "Housing and Suburbanization," 158.
[58] Christine Ramsay Johnston and James Johnston, interview with author, Boise, July 7, 2015.
[59] Susan Edwards, Catherine Lighterness, Maureen MacGregor, Nessie Nisbet, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.
[60] Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 20, 2015.
[61] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[62] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, Newhaven, March 4, 1994.
[63] Paul McAuley, interview with author, Edinburgh, May 22, 2014.

Malcolm Cant's interviews with villagers during his visit in 1985 captured words like "deplorable" and "dilapidated" to describe Newhaven's housing by the end of the 1950s.[64] Lifelong Newhavener Jim Park pointed to the lack of indoor utilities and services, as well as the overall state of the buildings themselves.[65] The vast majority of Newhaven's residents lived in a "room and kitchen" on either the upper or lower floor of their building. In the stairwell in between, on both floors, a toilet sat outside in its own enclosed room, which the two families shared.[66]

John Mackay, the writer for the *Evening News*' "Vanishing Villages" column, wrote that Newhaven's structures suffered from "old age and neglect."[67] The *Scotsman* compared a picture of Newhaven's homes in 1958 with a picture of the same houses in 1850, and the editors concluded that the only difference was that the homes were in worse shape today and required repairs, if not completely restoration.[68] The people of Newhaven also knew that the village needed modernization. Sandy Noble said that Newhaven needed "a renewal scheme," and the Edinburgh Town Council agreed due to Abercrombie's *Survey*.[69]

The Edinburgh Town Council's Plan

When Edinburgh's Planning Department received final approval from Scotland's Secretary of State in December 1957 for its *City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh Development Plan*, the Town Council finally had a concrete, step-by-step plan for

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[64] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,*170.

[65] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth: My Story of a Living Village* (Millom: Regentlane Publishing, 1998), 2.

[66] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

[67] John Mackay, "Dropping Anchor on the Waterfront," *Evening News*, August 29, 1981.

[68] "Old Houses by the Forth at Newhaven: Tenants Attack Closure Plans," *The Scotsman*, December 17, 1958.

[69] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.

implementing the grand vision of Abercrombie and Plumstead.[70] This two-part plan guided the Council's efforts for the next five years, with the second part laying out the process for the following fifteen years. Under Pat Rogan's influence, the Council fully devoted itself to a "general-needs building drive" of slum clearance and urban redevelopment in order to increase overall housing density.[71] The document itself was very clear that people were going to lose their homes, stating that "much of the proposed redevelopment will involve the demolition of property and displacement of population."[72]

Because Newhaven had been identified in the 1947 *Survey*, the Council created a specialized plan and hired Sir Basil Spence in 1955 to develop a reconstruction scheme for the fishing village. Spence enjoyed a reputation as one of the preeminent Scottish architects of his time, possibly even the most famous due to his work designing structures all across Edinburgh. Spence proposed two schemes that year for the redevelopment of Newhaven. The first scheme reconstructed the eastern side of the village, and it contained three parts: first, redo New Lane by razing the homes there and then rebuilding modern ones in the same external style as the old ones; second, build entirely new residences around the green space of Fisherman's Park designed in the Flemish style with its recognizable balconies, stairways, and rooftops, all in keeping with Newhaven's distinctive architectural style; and third, build 27 new flats along the steep road of Laverockbank. Recognizing the importance of local shops in village life, Spence

[70] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 71.
[71] Glendinning, "Housing and Suburbanization," 158.
[72] *City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh Development Plan*, Edinburgh Town Council (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 28.

included a five-sided building at the front of Great Michael Rise that was meant to house businesses and shops.[73]

Spence's second reconstruction scheme focused on the complete reconfiguration of Newhaven Main Street and the blocks surrounding it. Building upon Abercrombie's recommendation for a new road that would move traffic around Newhaven instead of through it, the plan called for retaining and reconditioning almost all existing buildings along Newhaven Main Street, adding new homes to Willowbank Row and Auchinleck Brae, creating green spaces in various points around the village, and constructing garages for residents.[74] The Council approved both schemes in 1956, although it awarded the contract for the overseeing the first scheme to Spence's company and gave the second to the firm of Ian Lindsay, another well-respected architect and builder in Edinburgh.[75]

Edinburgh city government proceeded with its plan in three parts: first, the Spence project in the eastern part of Newhaven (the first reconstruction scheme); second, the redevelopment of Newhaven Main Street's southside, which everyone referred to as Phase I (part one of the second reconstruction scheme); and finally, the reconstruction of Newhaven Main Street's northside, which everyone called Phase II (part two of the second reconstruction scheme).[76] The village of Newhaven's redevelopment, and the clearances and domicide of its people, began in the fall of 1958 when the Edinburgh city

[73] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 136.
[74] Ibid., 138.
[75] "Newhaven Development Area," Scottish Architects, last accessed January 2, 2020, http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=403115.
[76] The only explanation I have regarding the confusing names of the three parts of the Redevelopment is that the Newhaveners were unaware of the plans for Main Street during the New Lane reconstruction. Had they known the entire village would undergo redevelopment, they probably would have named the three parts Phase I, Phase II, and Phase III.

government proposed closing orders[77] for residents living in the eastern section of Newhaven, the second step in the Newhaven Pattern.

It Begins

When the Housing Committee proposed to put closing orders on 43 houses along New Lane and Annfield (and impacting over 100 residents), several dozen showed up a month later at the December 16, 1958 meeting to protest. Arguing that their families had lived in Newhaven for generations, the large deputation pleaded with the Housing Committee members to change their minds.[78] The Newhaveners had no desire to leave Newhaven, although many were open to moving to newer housing if it meant staying in the village. Mr. Sam Campbell, a lawyer for six residents from New Lane, told the committee that his clients accepted the analysis of their sub-standard housing, but their primary concern was being forced out into other areas of the city away from their beloved Newhaven "where they know everyone." Also, they wanted clarification as to how the city would compensate them for their homes.[79]

While some committee members showed sympathy for the Newhaveners' predicament, the official response was this: Newhaven's houses were so poor that only demolition and rebuilding would bring them up to modern standards of living. Chairman James Mackay had Edinburgh's Medical Officer of Health, Dr. H. E. Seiler, testify that the Newhaveners' houses were unsafe to live in due to their outside toilets, lack of running water, leaky roofs, and confined spaces for such large families. The Housings

[77] A closing order declares that a home is no longer suitable for residents to live in, usually because the city has deemed the property to have fallen below acceptable living conditions.

[78] Edinburgh Town Council Housing Committee, "Minutes of Meetings," May 4, 1944, City of Edinburgh Archives, City Chambers, Edinburgh, 97.

[79] "Old Houses by the Forth at Newhaven: Tenants Attack Closure Plans," *The Scotsman*.

Acts had made this kind of residential living illegal. Also, the Chair told the delegation that the District Valuer would set a price on their homes and negotiate with them, and while the Corporation would attempt to rehouse all of them, it was under no legal obligation to do so. The committee agreed to table the vote on the closing orders for one month.[80]

When the committee reconvened a month later, it passed the closing orders on the basis that the Newhaven homes in question were "unfit for human habitation." This time, several Housing Committee members spoke out against the committee's actions, describing them as "ruthless" and purposefully deceptive so as to lead the Newhaveners "up the garden path." When Deputy Town Clerk A.L. Stewart claimed that because none of the residents approached the Corporation with a plan to bring their homes up to standard, and the Corporation's only means forward was to issue a closing order, Councillor John Cormack replied by saying that Stewart was lying; two of the residents had made this exact offer, but city officials refused to hear them out.[81]

Bailie Walter Prowse, speaking on behalf of the Newhaveners, told the committee that the houses were just fine as they are, and Edinburgh city government should be ashamed of the poor compensation it was giving to the Newhaven residents. By "ruthlessly turning them out of their homes" and relocating them around the city, the committee was putting these fisher families out of business. Prowse said the least Edinburgh's leaders could do was rehouse them in the new housing in Fisherman's Park (Great Michael Rise). City Treasurer J.G. Dunbar responded to Prowse by saying the city had received these requests, but some of the villagers would not be able to live there

[80] Ibid.
[81] "Newhaven Houses Are to Close," *Edinburgh Evening News*, January 28, 1959.

because the city already allocated all of the housing in Great Michael Rise to other renters. That said, the committee then promised to attempt to rehouse all of them back in Newhaven, but no assurances were given.[82]

When Basil Spence's team completed their scheme in 1959, everyone, from the Town Council to the people of Newhaven, generally hailed it as a success. As hoped, many of those villagers evicted from their homes did end up getting housed in the new homes in Great Michael Rise or on New Lane, and the families, like Nessie Carnie's, "loved" living in their "luxury" homes with their extra rooms and modern conveniences.[83] Because the Council owned the new homes, residents paid rent to the city government, which determined the monthly amount based on each resident's income. The Council provided subsidies for poorer residents so that they could still have a place to live.[84]

Spence's architectural designs succeeded in preserving the distinctive Newhaven Flemish style and adding beautiful new buildings to Newhaven. He even won that year's Saltire Society Housing Award for his work.[85] The first part of the Redevelopment had gone decently well, providing a model for how to proceed with future redevelopment work, and it gave hope to the villagers for the second part, too. Unfortunately, the next phase, known as Phase I under the direction of Ian Lindsay, would see disaster strike the heart of the village.

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 137.

[84] Cathy Lighterness, interview with Susan Edwards, Newhaven, February 7, 2020.

[85] "Edinburgh, Newhaven, Laverockbank Avenue, Housing," Canmore: National Record of the Historic Environment, last accessed January 2, 2020, https://canmore.org.uk/site/156632/edinburgh-newhaven-laverockbank-avenue-housing.

Phase I

Basil Spence's proposal for redoing Newhaven Main Street, and its surrounding blocks, called for preserving as many homes as possible. However, Spence had no say in what happened once the Council chose Ian Lindsay & Partners to be in charge of Phase I and Phase II of Newhaven's redevelopment, and Lindsay's team made the choice to let cost, not history or sentiment, be their guide as they implemented the Council's reconstruction plan. Their approach to the reconstruction was a "no-nonsense kind, with much sacrifice of individual character and much redevelopment."[86] The new *Development Plan for the City of Edinburgh*, passed by the Planning Committee in 1960, influenced the Lindsay team's approach.[87]

With so many derelict homes across the capital city, and thousands of families waiting on lists for rehousing into homes with modern amenities, the Edinburgh Town Council decided that the best course of action, in general, was to demolish sub-par houses and build new ones in their place.[88] The Planning Committee's *Development Plan* and its recommendations for the next decade reflected the Council's sentiment. The plan called for immediate action rehabilitating housing across the city, especially focusing on modernizing, or demolishing and then rebuilding, the thousands of dwellings with living conditions below the minimum required in the Housing Acts, which the Edinburgh Corporation considered to be slums. Since Newhaven had a disproportionate percentage of these homes, the Planning Committee designated the village as an official

[86] John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, and David Walker, eds., *Edinburgh: The Buildings of Scotland* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 612.

[87] "Newhaven's 16th Century Atmosphere: City Village is Reborn," *Evening News*, November 20, 1975.

[88] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 170.

"comprehensive development area." Due to its long history, the *Plan* promised to "maintain the character of the Newhaven area" by reconditioning "a considerable number of properties," going on to state that "others should be demolished and replaced where appropriate by new buildings."[89] The *Plan* also called for the elimination of a handful of short Newhaven roads and small closes (alleyways) to make room for new houses.

Four years later on Nov. 17, 1964, after hearing damning testimony about the living conditions in Newhaven from the Medical Officer of Health and Chief Sanitary Inspector, the Housing Committee passed a clearance resolution for the people living on Newhaven Main Street. It divided the Newhaven Main Street project into two areas: the northside, where a majority of the houses were unfit for human habitation; and the southside, where all of the homes were deemed unfit. This is how Phases I and II came into being.[90] Faced with such an overwhelming number of sub-par houses, the most cost-effective course of action for the Council to take was the demolition of Newhaven's buildings with modern ones constructed in their place along the southside and an attempt to renovate and restore some of the homes along the northside. In effect, the clearance resolution began the process that fundamentally transformed Newhaven spatial landscape, dividing the village down the middle of its core along the Main Street axis.[91]

The message the *Development Plan* and the clearance resolution sent to Lindsay & Partners was clear: save what you can, but get as many houses built as soon as possible and for the lowest cost to the Council in order to help alleviate the housing crisis in Edinburgh. The capital city needed neighborhoods with modern housing, not old villages

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[89] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 138.

[90] Edinburgh Town Council Housing Committee, "Minutes of Meetings," November 17, 1964, City of Edinburgh Archives, City Chambers, Edinburgh, 181-183.

[91] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 139.

with storied pasts, for its people to occupy. Phase I began in 1962 and transformed Main Street's southside through the demolishing and rebuilding of all of its homes. When the project finished in 1971, Newhaven had 96 new homes at a cost to the Council of £4146 each, or £398,000 overall.[92] Even though the city councillors hailed the end of Phase I as great news for the capital city and the people of Newhaven, there was a glaring problem: the new buildings were ugly.

In accordance with the clearance resolution's direction, Lindsay's team did not preserve a single house on the village's southside. In their place, five three-story, flat cement buildings built in a "subdued, modern style" now stood, with their white garage doors and minimalistic windows lining the street.[93] These buildings in no way represented Newhaven's Flemish architecture, and they provided no continuity whatsoever with the traditional fishing village aesthetic around them. Simply put, even though the insides of these new homes were full of extra space and modern conveniences, the five new buildings were hideous in comparison to what had preceded them, and they looked entirely out of place. Lindsay intended for Phase II to help resolve this problem.

Phase II

Planning on Phase II began in 1970 as Phase I neared completion, and construction began in March 1974, with a completion goal of fall 1976.[94] Like Phase I, Phase II also combined the demolition, rebuilding, and restoration of Newhaven's houses into one project, but this phase attempted to fuse the traditional Flemish style with modernization of existing property, thus following Basil Spence's original vision for the

[92] "Ancient Blended With the Modern: Parliament Square – Old Town's Heart," *Evening News*, August 8, 1978.
[93] "Newhaven's 16th Century Atmosphere: City Village is Reborn," *Evening News*.
[94] "Newhaven's Face is Changing," *The Scotsman*, December 25, 1970.

Newhaven Redevelopment by sparing the old village's architectural charm. James Landels, deputy director of architectural services for the city, told local media that the southside of Main Street had no buildings worth preserving, so it was an easier phase due to the ability of the workers to simply demolish everything. Phase II was tougher because architects were trying to capture the look of a traditional Forth fishing village; this included the "distinctive red pantile roofs and external staircases" that made Newhaven's architecture unique.[95] John Reid, Senior Partner at Ian Lindsay, led Phase II because of his long expertise in preserving historical places, including restoration projects around Scotland at Inveraray, Dunkeld, and Culross.[96] Due to the complexities of recreating Newhaven's Flemish style housing, Reid's experience would not be enough to complete the project on time.

When Lindsay & Partners finally announced the completion of Phase II in March 1978, the project had taken almost two years longer than promised[97] and cost almost 50% more than the original estimate.[98] For a total price of £1,289,000, the Council got 33 new and 44 reconstructed homes, all in the traditional Flemish style, for a unit cost of £16,740 each.[99] Even though Phase II won several national awards, including the Saltire Society Certificate of Commendation in 1977 and a Civic Trust Commendation in 1979, the price per home was more expensive than the homes across the street by a factor of four.[100] This eye-popping number caused a lot of consternation on the Council.

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[95] "Newhaven's 16th Century Atmosphere: City Village is Reborn," *Evening News*.
[96] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 140.
[97] "Fixed Cost of Scheme Rise 300,000," *Evening News*, November 3, 1976.
[98] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[99] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 160.
[100] Ibid., 145.

While Council members were glad to see more housing open up in the capital city, they very publicly complained throughout the process about all of the delays and cost increases. Councillor James Kerr called the project "an absolute scandal." Councillor Tom Nisbet agreed with him, telling the Housing Committee that everything that could go wrong had gone wrong with the project, which included such problems as major unanticipated plumbing issues, delays in getting materials, and poor communication between the City Engineer and City Architect which slowed construction.[101] In 1976, during the middle of the project, the Housing Chairman himself, Cornelius Waugh, called the consultants and architects who worked on Phase II "tin gods" who refused to cooperate with the committee's wishes, insisting on running the project their own way and creating an avoidable mess in the process.[102] Once Phase II finished, Waugh changed the narrative by celebrating the modern houses that now stood in the place of the former "ramshackle slum tenements" on Main Street. He said all Edinburgh residents should feel proud of their Council's hard work modernizing the city.[103]

The Finished Product

The ancient village of Newhaven was no longer there. Gone were the slum houses of old Newhaven, as well as several of its roads and closes. The Council had successfully replaced them with nice homes full of modern amenities and cozy spaces worthy of a capital city, and it could move residents from around Edinburgh into its new neighborhood along the shores of the Forth. However, on the outside, a strange new

[101] Ibid., 140.
[102] Ibid.
[103] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.

architectural dynamic now existed. In August 1978, the *Evening News* hailed Phase II's completion and Newhaven's refreshed look, but it questioned the design choices made by Lindsay & Partners in Phase I. Newhaven now had a "sharply contrasting Main Street" where "modern flats on the southside, built under phase one, look across at cottages restored under phase two to retain many of their original Flemish features."[104] The editors did not understand why such ugly buildings sat across from beautiful ones, especially when the same firm oversaw the design and construction of both of them.[105]

This confusion extended to the villagers, as well as people who have visited Newhaven since.[106] The general explanation was that Lindsay's team knew Phase II would cost a lot more, so they saved as much money as they could on Phase I in order to maximize their profit on the project.[107] However, this was not precisely true, and local historian Chris Garner's work uncovered the real story.

Unbeknownst to most, if not all, of the Newhaveners interviewed for this dissertation, Lindsay & Partners designed both phases at the same time as a cost-cutting measure and never deviated from their original plans.[108] Ian Marshall, who served as the lead architect for Phase I, told Garner that his goal was to "avoid making a mockery of the old," so he built simple, non-descript residential buildings that would provide a strong contrast with the restored Flemish style across the street.[109] Lindsay told the *Evening News* the same thing in its November 1975 article about both phases.[110] Diane Watters, who worked as a Royal Commission Buildings Investigator, told Garner in an interview

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Please refer to Appendix C, Picture 8 for this section.
[106] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[107] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[108] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 138.
[109] Ibid., 146.
[110] "Newhaven's 16th Century Atmosphere: City Village is Reborn," *Evening News*.

that all of the evidence from the Lindsay design plans and the finished buildings prove that the "beautiful northside" and "ugly southside" were intentional.[111]

A few other myths about the project must be addressed. First, another commonly-held explanation among the villagers for the north-south contrast was that the city government did the work for the southside in-house, while a private firm implemented the vision for the northside. As we have seen, this was false.[112] A second misconception was that all of the northside homes were rebuilt. This was also false since 44 of the 77 new northside homes were reconstructed from the original houses located there.[113] Finally, some Newhaveners believed that members of the Town Council were so embarrassed by the visually unappealing buildings they erected on Newhaven Main Street's southside that they ordered Lindsay to change plans and preserve what was left of the northside. Again, this was not true.[114] This underscores how poorly the Council communicated with the people of Newhaven. Almost 40 years later, those surviving still do not know the true story of what actually happened to them and their village.

One last criticism of the spatial reconfiguration of Newhaven related to commercial spaces. Once Lindsay & Partners finished Phase II, there was almost no space for commercial shops or businesses left. Before any reconstruction began in 1959, Main Street had fourteen shops, but by 1975, there was only one - Alec Black's Booking Office, a gambling business. Basil Spence's original scheme for Phase II preserved six shops in the new setup, but for some unknown reason, Lindsay constructed none of the

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[111] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 139.
[112] Ibid., 139.
[113] Marina Bain, Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 18, 2015.
[114] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 138.

six, making the entire northside of Newhaven residential exclusively. Because part of living in a village community included being able to do one's shopping nearby, the lack of commercial spaces was interpreted by the Newhaveners as an attack on the village. After Chris Garner spoke with his Newhaven sources, he told me that he had "no doubt that the lack of convenience stores contributed to the socio-economic demise of the reconstructed village."[115] The Newhaveners he and I spoke with agreed.

Another way the Town Council ensured the demise of the village of Newhaven came about through the process the Council used to remove Newhaven's fisher families from their ancestral homes. With Phase II completed, noticeably absent from Edinburgh's city leaders' discussion over the finished Newhaven Redevelopment was any anger at the horrible treatment of the people of Newhaven by their own city government. As we have seen, costs, overruns, and other unintended consequences were apparently more deserving of city leaders' attention. Unfortunately, Newhaven Main Street southside's ugliness paled in comparison to the Council's treatment of the people who used to live in those spaces.

Decongesting the People

The fisher families who comprised the village of Newhaven were descended from a long line of fisher folk who had lived in Newhaven's houses for generations. Being forced out of their homes into different parts of the city unfamiliar to them was terrifying and traumatizing. Some of the elderly who were relocated did not survive. In a Western democracy like Scotland, it is hard to believe that hundreds of people who were loyal, hard-working citizens could be treated with such contempt, yet that is exactly what

[115] Ibid., 145.

happened. How, then, did the Edinburgh Town Council legally displace an entire village from property that its citizens had abided in and owned for centuries? The answer lies in the Scottish process of compulsory purchasing, the legal mechanism that lies at the center of the Newhaven Pattern's second step.

Compulsory purchasing is the Scottish equivalent of America's eminent domain.[116] The Housing Committee issued a clearance resolution for a street or block and then followed up with closing orders for compulsory purchase all of the homes in that area. Because the Town Council deemed a private individual's property as being more important for its purposes on behalf of the greater good of the city than that of the property owner, a common occurrence in slum clearance that Porteous and Smith referred to as "everyday domicide,"[117] homeowners had no choice in the matter.[118] In fact, once the intent to close on their houses arrived, home owners were not allowed to sell their property until the Council sent its official purchase order, which in some cases took years. This caused incredible frustration for Newhaveners who had to put their lives on hold until the city took their houses. Several interviewees shared stories of how this process inconvenienced their lives, like needing to move because of job changes or the need to provide elder care for disabled family members, but they were not allowed to move due to the legal limbo the Council put them in.[119]

The next step the Newhaveners could expect was a visit from the District Valuer. This city official came to their homes, assessed and then condemned them, and then

[116] Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 20, 2015.
[117] Porteous and Smith, *Domicide*, 149.
[118] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[119] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 74-77.

awarded the properties a "fair" price the city would be willing to pay. There was very little negotiation involved in this part of the process. The District Valuer could condemn a house for many reasons, like not having an indoor toilet or because two residents shared a bed,[120] and most often, the amount the District Valuer decided upon was the amount the property owner received.[121] Property owners were allowed to contest the price if it was too low; some did, but most did not for two reasons.[122] First, many of villagers were ignorant of the process and their rights within it, however small their recourse might be; so they just accepted their fate, refusing to "fight City Hall."[123] The second reason was much more prevalent: many villagers were afraid that any kind of resistance against the redevelopment process would result in retaliation by the Council.

In the entire Redevelopment saga, one of the most commonly-shared stories by the Newhaveners had to do with the vindictive behavior of city government officials against any villager who refused any step of the compulsory purchase process. This usually appeared in the behavior of the District Valuers, who largely determined what happened to each property and the people who lived in it.[124] D.J. Johnston-Smith, who wrote his dissertation on the slum clearances of the 1950-1975 period in Edinburgh, described the District Valuers as bureaucratic "middle men" who had great power over the Newhaveners but no accountability to them, despite being public officials. This dynamic came right out of the Robert Moses playbook[125] and fit Pat Rogan's style for slum clearance projects: use bureaucrats with no accountability to the voters to do the

[120] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[121] George Hackland, interview with John Mackie, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[122] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[123] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[124] Chris Garner and Margaret Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.
[125] Caro, *The Power Broker*.

unpleasant work of the Council.[126] The District Valuers preferred the path of least resistance because they were on a tight project schedule, so their ultimate goal was to get the property owners to agree to the given price for their home.[127] This explains why they discouraged and strongly disapproved of any kind of resistance.

I was repeatedly told by the Newhaveners that they knew people who resisted the clearances by either refusing to move at all or not accepting the District Valuer's price, which they thought was too low, for their house. The retaliation was that either the District Valuer lowered his assessment of the house's purchase price to £1 or £2, and the city forcibly took the house anyway; or the District Valuer threatened to pay them nothing and they would have to pay for their own home's demolition costs.[128] Mary Rutherford's mother-in-law refused to leave, so she received £1 for her entire house.[129] Netta Summerville did the same thing because she had just purchased her house the year before, and the District Valuer assigned her home's value at 20% of what she paid for it. I asked Netta what happened when the Valuer came by, and she said he never did, at least not while she was there; it seems unlikely that he was able to fairly assess its value without even going inside.[130] George Campbell got no reimbursement for his smithy, even though it had a brand-new aluminum roof on it.[131] And finally, Alec Young, who was known around Newhaven as "Ecky Bow," refused to leave his cottage when they came to demolish it, and he was prepared to die inside of it. The authorities had to drag him out of his house kicking and screaming and then force him into a compromise.[132]

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[126] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 88-89.
[127] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[130] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[131] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 144.
[132] Ibid., 139.

Johnston-Smith interviewed a District Valuer who kept all of his official assessment papers, despite Housing Committee staff instructing the Valuers to destroy their paperwork after the Newhaven project ended.[133] He gave Johnston-Smith his copies, and just as the Newhaveners claimed, the lists were full of Newhaven property owners given only £1 or £2 for their homes. One copy I personally inspected said that Ms. C.B. Stewart of 99 Main Street received £2.2 for her home; most of the homes on the sheet received amounts in the double digits.[134] The Housing Committee's official response to these low amounts was simple: the homes were in terrible shape and not worth much at all, but the problem with this statement is that their homes were all the Newhavener families had.[135]

Forcing the Newhaveners out of their homes, and then giving them almost nothing for their houses, put the fisher families in a terrible financial predicament. This is common for these types of clearance projects: the displaced poor forced out of their homes did not have the means to afford better housing in "nicer" areas, so they ended up moving into other run-down areas.[136] As Jane Jacobs wrote, modern urban planners failed in their attempt to get rid of slums using an approach similar to the one taken in Newhaven because they did not understand the underlying causes of slums in the first place; the end result of the planners' efforts was to simply move the poor into other bad areas and create more slums.[137] Also, Ian Marshall of Ian Lindsay told Chris Garner that the Council instructed his company not to speak with the Newhaveners about their

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[133] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[134] "District Valuer Assessments of Newhaven Houses Unpublished Document," July 1965.
[135] Flucker et al, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.
[136] Caro, *The Power Broker*, 20.
[137] Jacobs, *Death and Life*, 270.

relocation or make any promises of being allowed to return to the village, suggesting that the Council had moved on to the third step of the Newhaven Pattern: intentional poor communication.[138]

Both the Housing and Planning Committees' minutes list multiple £1 purchases within the Newhaven Comprehensive Development District. On March 29, 1961, the Planning Subcommittee voted to buy two Newhaven homes on Parliament Square for £1 each.[139] Two months later, on May 23, 1961, the Housing Committee approved the purchase of an entire list of ten Newhaven homes for the same price.[140] The highest amounts given were in the £400 range, but these higher amount appeared only rarely. Most Newhaveners received between £1 and £100.[141]

The most powerful story of resistance came from the leadership of Newhavener Frank Ferri. When he received a compulsory purchase order in 1974 for his home on Annfield Street, he organized a meeting at Fishermen's Hall of the other 29 Annfield residents who got the same letter, as well as any interested Newhaveners, including Edinburgh Town Councillor Tom Nisbet. They formed the Newhaven Action Group and elected Frank chairman. Frank prepared a petition for the Council, posted it around Newhaven in shops and pubs, and asked for signatures to support his petition. The petition requested the following: first, the northside redevelopment should commence immediately; second, all houses that could be preserved should be rehabilitated, especially those associated with important historical events in Newhaven's past; third,

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[138] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 144.

[139] Planning Committee minutes, March 29, 1961, 586.

[140] Edinburgh Town Council Housing Committee, "Minutes of Meetings," May 23, 1961, City of Edinburgh Archives, City Chambers, Edinburgh, 6.

[141] W. Borland, "Newhaven Clearance Area Payments Unpublished Document," Edinburgh Town Council Housing Committee, Nov. 14, 1966.

that any demolished houses should be replaced with Flemish-style cottages that match the surrounding homes; and fourth, that Annfield residents, due to their being moved out en masse, should be given priority occupancy of the new homes for rental.[142]

Articulating the Newhavener narrative about the villagers' desire to continue to reside in Newhaven the village, Frank began speaking to media outlets and talking to political leaders, including delivering a letter to Prime Minister Harold Wilson on the day he spoke in nearby Leith Town Hall. Frank's plan worked. In response to the growing outcry over the Town Council's treatment of Newhaven residents, just before the re-housing date came, the Council sent all Annfield residents a letter asking them to respond with their top three location choices for resettlement. Frank instructed all of his neighbors to write in "Newhaven" for each of their three options. The result: almost all of the Annfield families moved into a Newhaven home. Their original homes were demolished and rebuilt, but otherwise the Newhaven Action Group achieved its objectives. With its primary mission accomplished, the Group re-formed itself afterwards into the Newhaven and District Community Association.[143]

Any objective observer would agree that the communication between the villagers and the city government was incredibly poor. Porteous and Smith argue that this is a common characteristic in slum clearances, and it is usually done on purpose by those in power trying to diminish any kind of local resistance to their public works plan, hence its inclusion as the third step of the Newhaven Pattern.[144] Mary Johnston's situation illustrates this point. Mary lived on Willowbank Row, and after she received her closing

[142] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 140.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Porteous and Smith, *Domicide*, 188.

order notice, she and two of her friends went to High Street, where the Town Council maintained its offices, three times to speak with someone and ask for help. Each time they were assured that nothing would happen in their lifetimes due to the glacial pace of renovation projects like these all around the city, but then, of course, she was forced to move the next year. Mary told Chris Garner, "I don't think they knew what they were doing. We had no say."[145]

This kind of seemingly purposeful misinformation to keep the people of Newhaven in the dark about what was really going on was also illustrated in the official correspondence they received from the city government. Some Newhaveners did resist the proposed changes by writing letters to their councillor or pursuing legal action. Others turned to the Society of Free Fishermen for help; the Secretary of the Society sent the Town Clerk a letter on behalf of all of the Society's members asking the Town Council to give the highest priority to relocating Newhaven's fisher families in new homes next to the sea so that they could continue working. However, this was the only major piece of evidence I found about any kind of resistance from the Society on behalf of the villagers.[146] More often than not, a city official did respond, but city officials sent letters full of confusing legal jargon that no layman could understand. D.J. Johnston-Smith highlighted this in his dissertation by including the opening sentence from one such letter sent to Mrs. Ann Wilson of 108 Newhaven Main Street:

> The Secretary of State in exercise of the power conferred on him by subsection (1) of section 22 of the Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act, 1957, hereby provides that there shall be included in the foregoing Edinburgh Main Street, etc., Newhaven Clearance Area L Compulsory Purchase Order, 1965, a direction that the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act, 1945, (as amended by the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act, 1947, and set out in the Eleventh Schedule thereto) shall apply to the Order: and in the exercise of the powers conferred on

[145] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[146] M. Colley, "Unpublished Letter to Town Clerk W. Borland," December 1, 1964.

> him by paragraph 5 of the Third Schedule to the Housing (Scotland) Act, 1950, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf hereby confirms the foregoing Compulsory Purchase Order including the said direction.[147]

No one without a law degree or a background in compulsory purchasing could understand such confusing legal jargon.

Many of the Newhaveners said later that they honestly thought the Town Council was going to give them a chance to buy their homes back. Much of the villagers' correspondence with the city related to questions they asked about this prospect: when would the houses be finished, and when would they be allowed to make an offer? While many of them never got answers to these questions, the ones who did were shocked when they saw the prices on the homes.[148] The city planned to rent most of the new homes, but the ones the city put up for sale were listed in the tens of thousands of pounds, an amount that no Newhavener could afford, especially after the pittance most were given for their property during the compulsory purchase process.[149] The ongoing lack of clear communication added to confusion that later caused Newhaveners to feel betrayed by the Edinburgh Town Council, and it compounded the deep resentment they felt at being displaced from their former village.[150]

The Consequences of Redeveloping Newhaven

By the time Phase II was finished in 1978, the Town Council had forced hundreds of Newhaveners out of Newhaven and refused to let them back in, the fourth and final step of the Newhaven Pattern. The exact number is hard to discern because of varying figures listed in the records. A 1975 article citing an anonymous Council housing official

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[147] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 159.

[148] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, John Stephenson, and Amanda Wilson, interview with author, Newhaven, March 25, 2015.

[149] Mary Clement, interview with author, Newhaven, May 19, 2014.

[150] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

claimed that at that point, 204 tenants were made to leave and go to other Council housing elsewhere, with the vast majority being rehoused in West Granton or Leith.[151] A year later, another article claimed that 290 families were displaced, and only about a quarter of them were allowed to return.[152] A third article published after the Redevelopment's completion cited another anonymous housing official who claimed that over 200 tenants were evicted, and only 30% of them were allowed to return.[153] Finally, the official Newhaven Conservation Plan of 2000 would later state that just over 200 families were uprooted and sent to other areas of the city, breaking up the village community.[154]

Deciding who could return and live in reconstructed Newhaven is the crucial moment of this dissertation, and readers must not miss the importance of this part of the story. Everyone agreed that Newhaven's buildings and houses needed repairs. Many of them were dilapidated and antiquated, requiring major renovations to meet modern standards of living and come into compliance with the Housing Acts. Since the vast majority of Newhaven's residents did not have the financial ability to pay for such major remodeling to their homes, the Edinburgh Town Council did the work for them through the Redevelopment. Once the Council finished its reconstruction work, it owned all of the new homes in Newhaven, and it decided who could rent and purchase those dwellings, using the housing lists it kept of capital city citizens who needed new homes.[155]

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[151] "Newhaven's 16th Century Atmosphere: City Village is Reborn," *Evening News*.
[152] J.M. Russell, "How is Newhaven?," *The Scots Magazine* (March 1976), 624.
[153] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[154] Andrew M. Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," *Newhaven Conservation Plan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Town Council, 2000), 6.
[155] Glendinning, "Housing and Suburbanization," 158.

The huge housing shortage and dearth of private housing for sale forced the Edinburgh Town Council to make lists of those waiting for "Council housing,"[156] which was publicly-owned community housing that private citizens rented or bought from the city.[157] This is the key moment where the Council made the decision to end Newhaven the village's existence. By not letting most of the Newhaveners back into their ancestral space, the Council permanently destroyed Newhaven the village and replaced it with a modern neighborhood. The Council could have let many of the villagers back into Newhaven, even though it was already in a state of decline; but for reasons of its own, it chose not to. This dynamic explains why so many interviewees made statements like "they wouldn't let us back in to the village" or "the Council forced us to live out in Granton" after the Redevelopment ended. It was the fourth step of the Newhaven Pattern, where the governing authority hand-picked the people it wanted to comprise its new urban renewal project. By definition, the fourth step created winners and losers.

By 1978, most of the villagers were no longer there; only about a quarter of them were allowed to return. So what happened to the Newhaveners who had to leave? Once the legal documents were signed and the city paid the Newhaven property owners for their homes (if they received any compensation at all), the Town Council made them list their top three choices for future lodging. Since the Council controlled who lived where during this period, it used its power to break up village communities within its municipal borders in order to open up new neighborhoods for the growing capital city population to move into, places like Newhaven. Sandy Noble put it this way: the Council had "no concern for the history of the village; their only concern was to make sure Newhaven was

[156] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[157] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

clean, safe, and attractive to people moving into Edinburgh looking for a good neighborhood."[158]

The first major consequence of the Edinburgh Town Council's redevelopment of Newhaven was that it destroyed the ancient fishing village there; both spatially, as we have already discussed, and socially, because it takes people to make a village, and they were no longer there. The irony here is rich: the 1958 restoration plan was meant to preserve Newhaven, but instead the Redevelopment killed it through "Council kindness," as the locals sardonically described it.[159] The new spatial reconfiguration ensured that no village could resurrect itself in that space again; more spacious housing made it physically impossible to house the same number of people as before. Once all of the new homes were open, they were designed to hold just over half as many people as their predecessors. The voter rolls from 1950 to 1980 fell from 850 to 340.[160] And with the villagers gone, Newhaven's remaining businesses began to fail. The Peacock Hotel, after being in business for almost 300 years, closed in 1978 until new owners re-opened it, and the Wee Boatie Inn shut its doors for good.[161]

Newhaven historian Tom McGowran ended his book on Newhaven by declaring in the last chapter that the village died in 1959.[162] Cathy Lighterness said several times that "a community is the people,"[163] so when the Council "took the people away," it destroyed Newhaven.[164] Mary Barker added that the "reconstruction took the heart out of

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[158] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[159] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*, June 3, 1989.
[160] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 158.
[161] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[162] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 230.
[163] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[164] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 147.

the village,"[165] a sentiment Margaret Campbell shared when she said that the renovations "spoilt the character" of Newhaven.[166] Even if all of the Newhaveners were allowed to live in Newhaven again, they would not have recognized it, because the space itself no longer resembled the former village of old.[167] After almost 450 years of existence, Newhaven the village was gone; Newhaven the neighborhood had taken its place.

Media accounts of the Redevelopment have been both positive and negative since its completion, but the bad ones vastly outnumber the good ones. Even though the fisher families were no longer fishing in Newhaven because they were no longer there, the *Evening News* in November 1975 wrote about the "rebirth of Newhaven, Edinburgh's fishing village on the Firth of Forth." In 1981, John McKay wrote about the "fine transformation" of Newhaven by the Town Council that combined modern amenities with the traditional design of old Newhaven.[168]

Positive reviews were rare, though. The *Evening News* published a piece revisiting Newhaven in 1978, this time lamenting the loss of its strong community and unique culture, declaring that they were "gone forever."[169] A decade later, the *Scotsman* lambasted the Town Council for its treatment of Newhaven and many other former villages around Edinburgh. Accusing the Council of "yet another intrusion," the clearances, "all done in the name of preserving Newhaven," destroyed the village's distinctive character by demolishing the traditional Flemish buildings and forcing almost 300 families to move, most of whom did not return.[170] In 1994, the *Evening News* used

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[165] Ibid., 146.
[166] Margaret Campbell, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[167] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[168] Mackay, "Dropping Anchor on the Waterfront."
[169] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[170] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*.

its harshest language yet when it said the Council "destroyed" Newhaven in the 1960s by demolishing the village's buildings and forcing its people out of homes that had been theirs for generations.[171]

The second major consequence was the tragic effect the displacement had on Newhaven's elderly. Many of them died within six months of their eviction from Newhaven and relocation to another part of the city.[172] Chris Garner learned stories of about a dozen elderly Newhaveners who perished because they could not cope with the trauma of living in an unfamiliar place.[173] Maggie Ramsay,[174] George Hackland's mother,[175] Jimmy Buckets' mother,[176] and Mary Johnston's friend Mrs. Brown died the following year. Mary shared how Mrs. Brown returned to Newhaven every week to pick up her pension check, hoping that she might see a familiar face during her visit, but she died within several months of being forced to live in a new home in Leith.[177]

The Council relocated Nellie White only a couple miles away to Granton, but she traveled back to Newhaven every week to meet with her friends in a pensioners' club they started.[178] Mary Johnston herself, as well as Frances Milligan's sisters, and a host of others repeatedly asked the Council to let them back into their old home of Newhaven, but the Council refused every time.[179]

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[171] Stephen Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk," *Evening News*, April 16, 1994.
[172] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[173] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 143.
[174] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[175] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[176] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[177] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[178] Roland Mann, "A Community That Won't Die," *Evening News*, March 29, 1985.
[179] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.

A small number of the Newhaveners did manage to be rehoused in their former village.[180] George Hackland said that a person could count on two hands the number of people the Council let back in to the renovated homes, and he was one of them. George used his political connections and went to see Newhaven's city councillor, Bab Ross, pleading with her to help spare his 90-year-old mother from having to move out of the village. Bab helped negotiate a deal for George's entire building: since all of the three homes inside of it had indoor bathrooms, if the owners would sell their homes to the city at market value, the city would renovate the building instead of demolishing it and guarantee the owners the opportunity to purchase a newly-renovated home after the Redevelopment scheme finished. All three owners agreed, and they moved into the temporary housing in Granton prepared for them by the Council until homes became available for purchase.[181] Esther Liston shared a similar story for how she was able to get back into Newhaven.[182]

George's mother passed away six months later, however, in his opinion because she was so traumatized by her new surroundings and separation from her lifelong Newhaven community. His plan for remaining worked, though. George got a place on Newhaven Main Street and considered himself to be very lucky to have gotten a deal that allowed him to return to Newhaven. His key takeaway: the only winners in the Redevelopment were those who stayed in the village until the Council gave them a legal agreement guaranteeing a house back in Newhaven once the Council completed the renovations.[183] George, Frank Ferri, and Esther Liston proved that resistance could be

[180] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.
[181] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[182] Kitty Banyards and Esther Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, Newhaven, 1993.
[183] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.

effective. Whether it was due to ignorance, confusion, or fear of retribution, most of the Newhaveners did not resist the Council's directives. George was not the only one to have opinions on the entire ordeal, though. In fact, every Newhavener interviewed about Newhaven for this dissertation shared their various sentiments on the Redevelopment, or Clearances, and there were many.

How the Newhaveners Felt About the Redevelopment

Since the 1958-1978 redevelopment period so fundamentally altered Newhaven, it should come as no surprise to us that no topic garners more debate or stronger opinions from the Newhaveners. Like any complicated issue, the villagers shared a variety of thoughts and opinions about what happened, and since domicide produces a deep trauma within those displaced due to the disruption of the "belonging and nostalgic attachment" they had to their former home, it is understandable that they needed to talk about it a lot, both with each other and with outsiders like me.[184] Jane Jacobs described this dynamic well when she wrote the following:

> "And beyond this, people who do stay in an unslumming slum, and improve their lot within the neighborhood, often profess an intense attachment to their street neighborhood. It is a big part of their life. They seem to think that their neighborhood is unique and irreplaceable in the world, and remarkably valuable in spite of its shortcomings. In this they are correct, for the multitude of relationships and public characters that make up an animated city street neighborhood are always unique, intricate and have the value of an unreproducible original."[185]

The villagers' views on the Clearances can be divided into four main categories from positive to negative, which I call the good, the fair-minded, the bad, and the awful (which is entirely related to the Edinburgh Town Council).

[184] Khaled Alawadi, "Urban Redevelopment Trauma: The Story of a Dubai Neighborhood," *Built Environment* Vol. 40, No. 3 (2014): 367-368.

[185] Jacobs, *Death and Life*, 279.

The Good

It was uncommon to find folks who shared anything positive about the Redevelopment. Yet, Newhaveners did sometimes acknowledge positive aspects of the Redevelopment. Even though they tended to be in the context of "silver lining-type" responses, none of the Newhaveners could deny that Newhaven in 1958 needed major renovations. As a comprehensive development area full of substandard housing, many of its buildings were falling apart, and most of them did not have modern amenities. Also, the vast majority of the villagers did not have the funds to pay for the massive renovations that would have been required to bring their homes up to code. Because of this, there was a spectrum of positive praise, ranging from the enthusiastic to the begrudging, for the preservation of the northside and beautiful work Lindsay & Partners did there.[186]

During J.M. Russell's visit to Newhaven in 1976 on behalf of the *Scots Magazine*, Willie Johnston told him that he appreciated how hard the designers worked to preserve the traditional Flemish style of the houses, saying that "they are doing a wonderful job over there… it was high time something was done with these old houses, most of them without inside facilities."[187] Minnie Davidson joined Willie by adding that overall, the renovations were a good thing.[188] During the Newhaven History Group meetings done by the Newhaven Heritage Museum's staff in 1994, Mary Barker, George Hackland, and several others all praised Phase II's work preserving the northside for generations to

[186] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[187] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 625.
[188] Ibid., 626.

come. Cathy Lighterness agreed with the group, but she was quick to then pivot to the horrible process everyone endured to get to those renovations.[189]

Another positive effect of the Redevelopment was that some of the Newhaveners liked their new, modern homes. Frances Milligan said her friends were satisfied with their new places, even though they missed Newhaven.[190] John Liston was fortunate to be allowed back into Newhaven; he appreciated the modern amenities but sorely missed the character of the old buildings.[191] The Council relocated Netta Somerville to Granton, but a year later she swapped her home for a Newhaven one, only to be surprised at how small the Newhaven one was compared to her spacious former place in Granton.[192] John Stephenson had family who got a new place in Livingston, and after they got used to having two bedrooms, a bath, and a garden, they did not want to return to Newhaven; they loved their new house, having "never dreamt" they would live in such luxury.[193]

The Fair-minded

The second category of opinions has to do with those sentiments and feelings the Newhaveners shared when they were genuinely trying to analyze the events of the Redevelopment and weigh its pros and cons, no matter how they felt about everything. Cathy Lighterness, who very openly made some of the harshest criticisms of the period, surprised me when she admitted that the Redevelopment simply accelerated the decline Newhaven had already been experiencing for over a decade. Several members of the Newhaven History Group agreed with her.[194] As Cathy said to me in an interview later:

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[189] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[190] Frances Milligan, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, November 18, 1993.
[191] George Liston, Sandy Noble, and Jim Wilson, interview with Jane George, Newhaven, December 3, 1993.
[192] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[193] Flucker et al, interview with author, March 25, 2015.
[194] Cathy Lighterness, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 13, 1994.

> "The thing is, Newhaven would've changed anyway. New people had already started coming in because as people got more affluent, they went out. That's fair enough. But, new people came in, and you absorbed them because you could then… So that [the changes to the village] would've happened naturally. You needn't have forced it. And as people got a wee bit more affluent, they did put bathrooms and things like that in their houses. If they'd just given the people money to change them [their houses], they'd have all been changed and the people would've still been there. I mean, there were a lot of strangers coming in to live here, buying the houses, but they fitted in."[195]

The recognition that the Redevelopment significantly added to the factors transforming Newhaven, versus the usual script of "we were fine until the Town Council destroyed our village," explains another opinion the Newhaveners all shared. Because it would have preserved the Newhaven of old, George Hackland said that he wished the Council had designated Newhaven as a conservation village. This designation would have given Newhaven's Flemish buildings legal protections under Scotland's heritage preservation laws and possibly preserved many more of the original houses. Cathy responded in agreement that it would have helped, and "it would have been a pleasure for the villagers to look after it," as they had for 450 years.[196]

Because the villagers knew that Newhaven needed some kind of restorative help, they often talked about how city government should have managed the project. The first suggestion was simple: the Council should have modernized all of the houses from the inside first, and then torn down the ones that were "really bad."[197] Instead, in their opinion, the Council had Lindsay & Partners "pull everything down just to get rid of things."[198] The first part of the reconstruction, the scheme that Basil Spence prepared for Great Michael Rise and New Lane, should have served as a model for the reconstruction of Newhaven Main Street. By building homes in the open space of Fisherman's Park

[195] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[196] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[197] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[198] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.

(before 1959) first, the Council could have housed the villagers there while it redeveloped Main Street, allowing them all to move back in once Lindsay finished Phases I and II and preserving the original architecture. In Cathy Lighterness's words, this would have "kept the village."[199]

George Hackland suggested another possible plan of action. The Town Council could have brought in mobile homes to house everyone while the city worked on their houses. Basically, Lindsay's team could have done one section, then moved onto another after the formerly displaced residents moved back into their houses, allowing the evicted residents of the next section to use the temporary housing. Everyone got what they wanted with this plan: the Council achieved its goal of modernizing Newhaven, which they saw as an eyesore, and the villagers got to stay in their beloved Newhaven while now living in homes with modern amenities.[200]

A final moment of circumspection came during the Newhaven History Group meetings in 1994. Sandy Noble and George Hackland both said they regretted not doing more to save the village, and they credited Frank Ferri for his successful efforts to save at least some of his neighbors from being forcibly relocated outside of Newhaven. Sandy blamed his generation for losing the history and culture their ancestors worked so hard to build, while George admitted that most of his family members gave up before they even tried to resist. The reason: because back in those days, people revered their town councillors.[201] In George's words, "they were the Lord God Almighty," so people were afraid to fight for themselves and the village. Porteous and Smith identified the lack of

[199] Denise Brace, Helen Clark and Elaine Greg, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs* (Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council Department of Recreation, 1998), 16.
[200] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[201] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.

resistance, or low levels of it, as a common occurrence among domicide's victims because the clearance process is legal, so the displaced wrongly believe they have no power to resist and reluctantly accept the consequences of the clearance process.[202]

George believed the village could rise again if the Council would just let people come back, but Sandy disagreed, saying "the only thing now is to make it comfortable" for everyone.[203] It has been said that "hindsight is always 20/20," but none of the Newhaveners knew just how damaging the Redevelopment would be to Newhaven. They thought the Council was coming to help them by modernizing their houses and cleaning up the village, not displacing the people and destroying their entire community, albeit one that was already in decline.[204]

The Bad

Newhaven the neighborhood engenders much more negative responses from the Newhaveners. Despite the success of Phase II in restoring the northside of Newhaven Main Street, Tony Crolla,[205] Grace Miller,[206] Sandy Noble, George Hackland,[207] Cathy Lighterness, and others adamantly accused Basil Spence, Ian Lindsay and his team, and the Edinburgh Town Council of ruining the look of the former village due to the "eyesore" of the southside.[208] The Redevelopment "destroyed [Newhaven's] historical charm and character" by replacing the distinctive former Flemish-style cottages, with their outdoor stair cases and pantile roofs,[209] with ugly apartment buildings that look like

[202] Porteous and Smith, Domicide, 150.
[203] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[204] Chris Garner and Margaret Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[205] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[206] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 624.
[207] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[208] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[209] Christine Ramsay Johnston and James Johnston, interview with author, July 7, 2015.

military barracks.[210] They all hated the southside, especially since it sat across from the beautiful northside. John Liston lamented the loss of the old, familiar Flemish character of the original buildings, a spatial dynamic he associated with home and fond memories.[211]

The general criticism of the new spatial aesthetic was not just limited to the residential changes. Gone were the villages' shops and businesses where the community would come together to purchase goods, order services, and connect with each other. The nearest butcher and the closest chemist were in Leith.[212] The Newhaveners missed "the personal service of small local shops," and the elderly especially missed the convenience of getting what they needed close by.[213] Those few who remained in Newhaven had to rely on others to bring them their prescriptions.[214]

Newhaven was not used to "others," yet now they were everywhere. Once the Town Council opened up the new neighborhood of Newhaven for residential living again, because it controlled the relocation process, the Council purposefully moved hundreds of non-Newhaveners into Newhaven's reconstructed spaces after having expressly rejected the petition of most Newhaveners who asked to return. The older generation hated this change.[215] Marion Dryburgh explained that Newhaveners were "clannish folk" who did not exclude others, but many of the new people living in the village "had no sense of community."[216] George Hackland emphatically agreed; the new inhabitants were not "village-minded or community-minded." George would walk down

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[210] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 630.
[211] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[212] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 623.
[213] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.
[214] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth,* 2.
[215] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[216] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.

the street and not know a single person, and none would speak to him, a drastic change from the Newhaven of old.[217]

Cathy Lighterness described it this way: "Yeah, but you bring all these strange people… it's like everything else. They build huge spaces with lots of houses, and check everybody in from everywhere else, and you can't make a community like that."[218] For the first time in their lives, the Newhaveners said they had to start locking their doors.[219] The switch from open doors to closed ones was emblematic of the drastic change Newhaven and its people experienced during the Clearances, and they blamed the Edinburgh Town Council for all of the worst parts of it.

The Awful

Domicide produces very strong emotions in people due to their intimate connection with their home, so it is not surprising that the most passionate feelings and intensely negative opinions about the Redevelopment relate to the Edinburgh Town Council's leadership of the project and its subsequent treatment of the people of Newhaven throughout the process.[220] We have already experienced a taste of this in the way the villagers call the 1958-1978 period the Clearances. Their multi-faceted reasoning for the use of this appropriated name deserves explanation, beginning with the Council's behavior.

Sandy Noble and Frank Ferri argued that the Town Council knew nothing about Newhaven or its people,[221] and a majority of the Council members did not care to learn,

[217] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[218] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[219] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 624.
[220] Porteous and Smith, *Domicide*, 64-65.
[221] "Newhaven 'Slanging Match' Criticised," *Evening News*, November 9, 1976.

either. Robert Caro identified this lack of concern for what the poor think as commonplace for powerful men like Robert Moses and Pat Rogan. They refused to listen to the voices of those they displaced and dispossessed.[222] Sandy said the Council was "90% ignorant of anything of the old village and its associates," and they obviously had only one concern: transforming Newhaven into a neighborhood worthy of the capital city. Because the Council, and specifically the Housing Committee members, refused to take the time to learn about the lives of their own constituents, they completed mismanaged the project, tremendously altering the daily lived experience of hundreds of loyal citizens and destroying their historic community along the way.[223] This ineptitude directly led to the death of displaced elderly Newhaveners, precipitating Willie Rutherford to accuse the Council of having "blood on its hands."[224] George Hackland wanted to know who the city planners were and if they ever cared about or even considered how their urban renewal work would affect the thousands of lives displaced by redeveloping the villages of Edinburgh.[225]

Not only did the Town Council not take the time to learn about Newhaven's ways and its needs, the Council also did not prioritize communicating clearly and effectively with the Newhaveners. George Hackland believed that "the town played very dirty,"[226] and many of the interviewees stated on the record that they believed the Council purposefully lied about its intentions for Newhaven and subsequent actions during the Redevelopment. Isa Wilson illustrated this belief by sharing about her own experience

[222] Caro, *The Power Broker*, 483-484.
[223] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[224] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 147.
[225] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[226] Hackland, interview with John Mackie, December 8, 1993.

trying to get back into Newhaven. When Isa wrote the Council to ask if she could purchase or rent a new home in the reconstructed Newhaven once one opened up, the Council responded in a letter telling her there were none left, "and then the next minute an empty house in the village was filled with somebody else" from outside the village.[227] Cathy Lighterness said the way city officials spoke to people was "absolutely disgusting."[228]

With such poor communication, it is no wonder the Newhaveners believed that the "planning people had no idea what the people of a village would want," so the planners built structures along the southside of Main Street devoid of any ornamentation that would have provided some type of stylistic continuity with the rest of Newhaven, namely the houses along the northside.[229] Chris Garner shared a sentiment he heard repeatedly from among the villagers, namely that just a little bit of Flemish flare along the southside would have gone a long way to decreasing the stark contrast of Main Street's two sides.[230] It did not help that the five apartment buildings along the southside had garages facing the street instead of around the back, a design flaw residents like Frances Milligan loathed.[231] Again, the villagers pointed out that a little bit of communication, like asking them what they might like to see in a newly-restored Newhaven, would have prevented these problems from occurring. Many of the Newhaveners agreed with Marion Dryburgh when she stated, "we would have been a lot happier if everything would have been left as it was,"[232] but as we have seen, the

[227] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[228] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[229] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[230] Chris Garner and Margaret Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[231] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[232] "Ancient Blended With the Modern," *Evening News*.

compulsory purchase process meant the villagers had no choice in the matter.[233] The lack of communication also ensured most of the Newhaveners could not fight back.[234]

Perhaps the most upsetting question the Newhaveners have no answer for is why, as in why did the Town Council not allow the vast majority of them to return to Newhaven? The villagers pointed to other areas of the city that also underwent comprehensive redevelopment, like Cuross, where the Newhaveners claimed the Council allowed the villagers to move back in after the reconstruction there finished.[235] Why did they not do the same for Newhaven? As George Hackland reminded us, none of the families along the southside of Main Street were given an opportunity to return, as well as dozens of other families from Newhaven's various streets.[236] We do not know the Council's official reason, but Newhaveners like Sandy Noble, Cathy Lighterness, Frances Milligan, Ian Smith, and others answered their own question by adamantly stating that the Council purposefully scattered them because it feared their strong community and refusal to more fully integrate into the capital city at large.[237] Cathy took this argument a step further by adding a political reason:

> "We were a strong community, and we did stand up to them a lot of the time. The village did. Somebody told my sister, and I'm talking about years ago, that they wanted to break up strong communities because they would fight city hall all the time rather than let them do what they wanted. And that was the reason they wanted Newhaven, as one of the last bastions of strong community in Edinburgh."[238]

Whatever drove the Council's policy decisions towards Newhaven during this period, the anger and resentment over it lingers on in the Newhaveners even today, as well as the

[233] Lighterness et al, interview with author, March 20, 2015.
[234] Chris Garner and Margaret Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[235] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[236] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[237] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.
[238] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.

Newhaveners' own regret that they did not do enough to resist the Redevelopment. The Council could have avoided this bad outcome had it not chosen to follow the Newhaven Pattern.

The series of steps local governments like the Edinburgh Town Council took to institute slum clearance projects, a process I have named, for our purposes, the Newhaven Pattern. To review, there were four main parts in the pattern. First, the governing authority created a plan for enforcing new, higher standards for housing within its borders, standards the people comprising the local authority knew the citizens of the targeted neighborhood or area could not meet due to their limited financial means. The government informed the public of the new standards by means that did not generate much attention, like posting the minutes of the meeting in the back of the newspaper or not drawing the attention of the local media to the full ramifications of the new standards. In other words, the new standards went mostly unnoticed by everyday people busy living their lives.

In the second step, when a long-enough period of time had passed since the new standards went into effect, about the time the public had forgotten about them, the various departments of the local government initiated the process of condemning the neighborhood's residents' homes and taking ownership, moving swiftly to offset local resistance. Newhaven's process did not go as swiftly as the City Engineer hoped, likely because of the limited resistance Newhaveners like Frank Ferri or George Hackland initiated to stop or alter the process. For the third step, throughout the clearance process that followed, the governing authority communicated poorly with affected citizens by confusing them with legalese and complicated bureaucratic processes that were difficult

to follow. Even the local media recognized this was happening to the Newhaveners. Finally, in the fourth and final step of the Newhaven Pattern, upon reopening the new neighborhood, the city government, which owned all of the new homes, prevented any "undesirables" from returning by choosing the neighborhood's new residents.

What makes the Newhaven Pattern so incredible is that it was entirely legal; as far as we know, the Edinburgh Town Council did not break the law in the redevelopment process. Other villages or small places like Newhaven around the world should take note of happened here and learn from Newhaven's example. Without casting judgment, and using the benefit of hindsight, two takeaways seem appropriate for today. First of all, the Newhaveners should have been on the lookout for the Council's intervention in their village; they were not the first area to undergo slum clearance in Edinburgh in the name of housing modernization. Residents like George Hackland who proved that they were renovating their houses up to code received fairer treatment from the Council. The people of Newhaven should also have rallied together, building on their core belief of belonging to one another as a community of fisher people, and used one of their village institutions, like the Society of Free Fishermen, to resist such drastic changes. The Society's age, purpose, and reputation made it the perfect voice to negotiate better treatment for the Newhaveners during the Redevelopment process, as well as ensure happier outcomes for those who lost their homes. The Society might even have been able to save the village, the ultimate act of protection for Newhaven's fisher families.

The Redevelopment, or Clearances, significantly harmed an already-declining Newhaven by scattering its people across Edinburgh and drastically altering its spatial configuration. With the fishing disappearing and the village's traditional profession

suffering, the Edinburgh Town Council's decision to clear away Newhaven's slums and build a modern neighborhood in their place came at the worst time. At a minimum, the Redevelopment sped up the decline and sealed the village's fate, but a second major event occurred during this same period that some of the Newhaveners argued "put the nail in the coffin" of their beloved village: the forced amalgamation of Newhaven's two churches.

One Neighborhood, One Church

Two churches had served Newhaven since 1843 as its main houses of worship, Newhaven Parish Church and St. Andrews Church. After the national amalgamation of 1929 merged the United Free Church of Scotland with the Church of Scotland, both churches came under the Kirk's authority once again. In addition to serving the villagers' spiritual needs, each church provided an important social space for the Newhaveners to bond together in community and maintain their relationships with one another in a setting outside of the fishing profession.

When the Before World War II started, St. Andrews Church had about 850 parishioners a week. By 1950, as the village declined, attendance dropped to just under 600.[239] Rev. Duncan Nelson served the church during that season, and he told the *Scottish Daily Mail* that at one point his congregation had 100 Wilsons, 65 Carnies, and 60 Fluckers, which highlighted the historical insular nature of the village and community pressure to marry "within."[240] As the "fisherman's church," St. Andrews existed to serve

[239] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 78.

[240] Hugo Charteris, "Girls Find Life Too Hard For Them," *Scottish Daily Mail*, September 29, 1950.

the spiritual needs of Newhaven's fisher families, but when the fishing started declining, the need for a second church declined with it.[241]

During 1970, elders in the Church of Scotland at 121 George Street made it known to both Newhaven congregations that it was becoming too expensive to maintain two congregations in Newhaven.[242] When St. Andrews' minister Rev. William Birrell announced his retirement two years later, the leaders at George Street appointed Rev. David Strickland as pastor and announced their intention to close one of Newhaven's churches,[243] much to the villagers' dismay, telling the congregations that they had shrunken to the point where it did not make sense to keep both open.[244] Then the Kirk appointed Rev. Tommy Thomson of Wardie Church to oversee the process for closing one of the two churches and determining which one would remain open. He held a dozen meetings at St. Andrews for villagers from both congregations to attend to ensure an open process, but not surprisingly, having congregants from each church present inhibited members from sharing their true feelings because they did not want to offend their family and friends at the other church.[245]

The meetings revealed two things. First, most Newhaveners wanted the church they attended to stay open and were willing to vote to close the other church. Second, both church buildings were in need of repairs, but St. Andrews' repairs were believed to be more extensive.[246] Because of the impasse over the closure decision, after church one Sunday at St. Andrews, Rev. Thomson told 200 attendees that the best option for fairly

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[241] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 198.
[242] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 78.
[243] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, February 11, 1994.
[244] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 198.
[245] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 78.
[246] McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth*, 198.

determining which church should close was to seek arbitration from the Church of Scotland. Willie Rutherford spoke against Rev. Thomson, warning the attendees that once the arbitration process finished and George Street came to its conclusion, there would be no appealing the decision if the villagers disagreed with it. The final vote was 176 for arbitration, 24 against. Willie's own mother voted against him by voting for arbitration, and Willie told her, "You've sold your own birthright today, mum."[247]

The arbitration meeting at the Kirk on 121 George Street was chaotic and volatile. The Newhaveners chose Captain William Lyle to attend as their representative to speak for the congregation on St. Andrews' behalf, but as the meeting proceeded, it became clear that the church officials were not going to allow Lyle to speak. A Newhavener in the gallery, Archibald Morris, stood up and interrupting the proceedings, saying, "Our man is not being allowed to speak. There's 'nae Christianity here!" Church officials had him evicted, and after a couple hours of deliberation, they voted to close St. Andrews and force its congregation to merge with Newhaven Parish Church.[248] Their main reason for closing the church "doon the pier:" it needed more expensive repairs than Newhaven-on-Forth, or so they claimed.[249]

When Willie Arthur, one of St. Andrews' elders, led a delegation of elders to George Street and requested to see the surveyor's report on the condition of both church buildings after the arbitration meeting, the committee denied their request. Willie and the other elders argued that St. Andrews was in better structural condition, namely because it did not have a "dry rot" problem like Newhaven-on-Forth. This proved to be true.[250]

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[247] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 78.
[248] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[249] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 78.
[250] Ibid., 79.

Under Scottish Presbyterian Church law, members were given a three-week window to use their right to object to any governing board decision, but the arbitration committee did not follow this principle when dealing with the Newhaven amalgamation decision.[251]

The Kirk closed St. Andrews's doors that same year in 1974 and then sold the building, keeping the money for itself.[252] Church leaders at 121 George Street then appointed Rev. Alex Aitken to lead the new congregation.[253] Half of St. Andrews Church joined the church "up the cut" with their neighbors, and the other half joined various churches in Trinity, Leith, and Granton.[254] Now a new congregation, Newhaven Parish Church changed its name to Newhaven-on-Forth Parish Church, which is still its name today.[255]

The "Final Blow"[256]

St. Andrews was one of Newhaven's strongest social institutions, a key site of belonging where the villagers built and maintained strong connections with one another. When 121 George Street forced the Amalgamation upon the village, it removed a significant space for the creation and maintenance of village community, furthering harming the Newhavener way-of-life. Yes, they still had a church of their own to attend, but losing the cathedral on the harbor that sat for centuries across from all of their fishing boats devastated many of the Newhaveners.[257] The Amalgamation happened at the same time the Redevelopment was unleashing dramatic change upon the village and the

[251] Ibid., 80.
[252] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[253] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 45.
[254] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 80.
[255] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[256] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 16.
[257] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.

villagers. As we have seen, most of the Newhaveners blamed the Clearances for destroying the village, but the Amalgamation shared in a part of their blame, too.

George Liston spent his entire life living in Newhaven. He told the Newhaven Heritage Museum staff that during the reconstruction of the southside of Main Street, "all of the people there were put out… and given no opportunity to come back into the village… and then they brought in people from the outside. The final blow to the village came when they elected to have the church up in Craighall Road instead of the Fishermen's Church… they killed Newhaven."[258] George deemed "both" the Edinburgh Town Council and Church of Scotland's leaders as being responsible for "the demise of Newhaven."[259] His friends and neighbors all agreed that the Amalgamation greatly damaged the village's community, but most of them put more blame on the effect of the Clearances in causing Newhaven's destruction.[260]

Once again, the Newhaveners felt they had no say in a decision that hugely impacted their lives. Many of them believed that the Kirk closed the wrong church for purely financial,[261] and maybe even under-handed, reasons.[262] George Hackland was adamant that St. Andrews was in much better condition than Newhaven Parish Church; they had just installed new floors and a new heating system when the Amalgamation came.[263] Cathy Lighterness argued that both churches were "paying their own way and… both were happy," so why did the Kirk feel the need to intervene?[264] Everyone recognized that Newhaven was small, but each church provided a place of connection the

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[258] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 16.
[259] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[260] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[261] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[262] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.

Newhaveners depended on, especially during the Redevelopment period. Once the Kirk forced them to unite into one congregation, an "us versus them" struggle began that took years to heal as the two groups learned to work together as one Christian community.[265] Of course, in 1974, with the fishing gone, the Clearances displacing the villagers, and the Edinburgh Town Council refusing to let most of them back in, Newhaveners were all-too-familiar with this kind of battle, and unfortunately for them, they were going to lose.

Conclusion

In the *Evening Dispatch*'s July 1960 "Do You Know?" column, the author stated that "Newhaven was absorbed within the boundaries of Edinburgh when Leith became part of the city under the amalgamation scheme forty years ago, but the ancient fishing village stubbornly retains its individuality. Into this modern world it brings picturesque touches to remind us of earlier times."[266] In spite of their prior and ongoing challenges, the people of Newhaven still clung to their traditional way-of-life. They refused to integrate into Edinburgh any more than they already had, and that was a problem for the Edinburgh Town Council's grand vision for Scotland's capital city. Action, through the joint processes of redevelopment and amalgamation, would have to be taken to transform Newhaven into the kind of area the Council wanted it to be.

Following the Newhaven Pattern, and promoting its narrative about Newhaven's great need for modernization, the Edinburgh Town Council used a three-phase process over the course of 20 years from 1958-1978 to reconstruct the slums of Newhaven into a modern neighborhood in order to house the people moving into Edinburgh during this

[265] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.
[266] "Do You Know?," *Edinburgh Dispatch*, July 18, 1960.

period.[267] Just down the street from Edinburgh City Chambers at 121 George Street, the Church of Scotland's leaders decided in the early 1970s that it was time to close one of Newhaven's two churches and force the integration of the both congregations into one body in order to save money. In each of these instances, outside powers came into Newhaven and forced unwanted decisions upon them, giving the villagers little input into choices that they would suffer all the consequences from in the years ahead. The Council and the Kirk had logical arguments for their actions, maybe even good reasons behind them, but how they went about making these changes in Newhaven calls into question their motives, as well as lessens any of the greater good they might claim to have accomplished.

The Edinburgh Town Council set out to address the housing shortage in the post-World War II era by making room for more attractive residential areas and reducing blight and substandard housing. While explaining his plan for Newhaven and the surrounding area, Sir Patrick Abercrombie estimated that 3900 people would have to be "decentralized" in order to create a new cultural quarter along the Firth of Forth.[268] D.J. Johnston-Smith's work revealed that city-wide, the Council displaced over 35,000 people and destroyed between 16,000 and 17,000 homes in its massive slum clearance efforts in the dozens of villages around Edinburgh, much of it at the direction of Pat Rogan.[269] Newhaven stood in the way of a city government which attempted to modernize its municipal spaces and create new neighborhoods for a growing population.

[267] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 630.
[268] Garner and Johnston-Smith, interview with author, June 5, 2015.
[269] Johnston-Smith, "Dislocation," 4.

Everyone, even the Newhaveners, knew that Newhaven was a slum in need of repairs, but the way in which the Town Council treated the Newhaveners during the redevelopment process, which I have called the Newhaven Pattern, raises significant questions about its real motives. Between the incredibly bad communication between the Council and the villagers and Ian Marshall's admission that he and his team were instructed not to speak to Newhaveners about the Redevelopment, it is hard to believe that the Council did not purposefully break up the village community and then ensure it did not reassemble itself. The Council letting about a quarter of the Newhaveners back into the reconstructed Newhaven after the Redevelopment finished supports this explanation.

City planners did not want a village; they wanted a neighborhood, hence their decision not to ask for input by Newhaveners into the final product of Phases I and II. Chris Garner believed that an objective observer would agree that the people of Newhaven's desires were not taken into account by the Edinburgh Corporation. Despite the limited resistance they put up, the villagers certainly did not feel like they were listened to.[270] The Council's and Kirk's treatment of the people of Newhaven produced a powerful, deep resentment that lingers today and informs their memories and opinions about what happened in Newhaven over the years.

George Hackland said that the "heart" of Newhaven was its strong sense of community. Because "they were all together" trying to make a living in the fishing profession with its many challenges, Newhaven's fisher families formed a tight community that survived on the banks of the Firth of Forth for centuries.[271] He and his

[270] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 144.
[271] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, February 11, 1994.

fellow Newhaveners were "very well integrated" until the village was "killed off by the Council first and then by the church."[272] By removing most of the people from Newhaven during the Redevelopment and then closing one of the last surviving social spaces for those few who were able to return, all during the same time period, the Council and the Kirk destroyed what was left of an already-deteriorating village and created a neighborhood in its place.

Part 2: The Twilight, showed how Newhaven of old, with its insular fisher families, nicknames, superstitions, choirs, fraternal society, and much more, was gone, and Newhaven the village lived on primarily in the memories of its former inhabitants. Sandy Noble summarized Newhaven's new state of being this way: "But what the object of Newhaven as a village was is not now needed. No work, no harbour, no fish, nothing. The identity of being a fishing village is now evaporated. It's just a place for living, and that's the march of time..."[273] Newhaven the neighborhood had taken its place, and the new collection of disparate people living there would have to define for themselves what they wanted it to be. That is the subject of the last chapter of this dissertation.

[272] Liston et al, interview with Jane George, December 3, 1993.
[273] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, March 4, 1994.

# Chapter 6

## The Neighborhood

### Introduction

When Lindsay & Partners announced the completion of Phase II in March 1978, Newhaven looked completely different than the village that had existed there 20 years prior. Main Street had 77 Flemish-style homes along the northside, and five three-story buildings with no ornamentation whatsoever, capable of housing 96 families, lined the southside. With Newhaven Main Street cut off at its western edge, Lindsay Road diverted all traffic around Newhaven, quieting an area historically filled with the hustle and bustle of fishing-related activities, but now devoid of its prior profession, and more importantly, the people who worked in it.[1] Newhaven had become the quaint, attractive neighborhood for capital city residents to occupy that the City of Edinburgh Council desired.[2] The Council's narrative for defining Newhaven's spaces had won, but the villagers did not give up. They continued the fight, this time with a new goal: to preserve the legacy of old Newhaven.

As soon as each part of the Redevelopment finished, the Council moved residents from its city-wide waiting lists into the new homes.[3] When Newhaven's new inhabitants first arrived, they had no connection with the spaces they now occupied. They were joined by a remnant of Newhaveners living alongside them, former villagers who possessed strong, deeply-personal connections with Newhaven's spaces. For

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[1] J.M. Russell, "How is Newhaven?," *The Scots Magazine* (March 1976), 623.

[2] In 1976, a massive reorganization of local government occurred throughout Scotland after Parliament passed the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973. The Edinburgh Corporation dissolved and was replaced by a two-tiered council system. This lasted until Parliament reorganized local government again in 1994, merging the two councils into a single governing body, the City of Edinburgh Council.

[3] Chris Garner and DJ Johnston-Smith, interview with author, Newhaven, June 5, 2015.

Newhaveners, Newhaven was more than just a space to live in; it was a place with significant purpose and meaning.[4] Because of the Newhaveners' great love for old Newhaven, the villagers made sure "the old ways" informed the new culture that the neighbors developed over time. In fact, as we shall see, former Newhaveners led the movement of fashioning a neighborhood that those who lived there might enjoy, continuing the battle for the narrative over Newhaven's spaces.

Once Lindsay & Partners completed the Redevelopment by opening up the northside for habitation, the two groups began to form a new dynamic among themselves, getting to know one another and the spaces they lived in; and in the process, they built a neighborhood. The inhabitants of Newhaven the neighborhood created their own individual and collective identities within its borders, a culture complete with local customs, connections, events, and festivities that Newhaven neighbors could call their own, a community they built upon the memories of Newhaven the village.[5] This chapter explores the decades since the Redevelopment's end, detailing Newhaven the neighborhood's history from 1978 until today. It explores significant events that defined the young neighborhood, including the end of fishing in Newhaven in 1978, the closing of the Society of Free Fisherman in 1989, the work of the Newhaven District and Community Association to build and maintain community, the creation and eventual closing of the Newhaven Heritage Museum, and the 2006 Newhaven Harbor Revitalization Project. Chapter 6 begins with the story of the last fishing vessel to leave Newhaven.

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[4] Henri LeFebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden: Blackwell Publisher Inc., 2000).

[5] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 12.

The End of the (Fishing) Line

Newhaven's fishing steadily declined throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and during the late 1970s, it stopped completely. Alex Dickson, superintendent of the Fishmarket in 1976, told *The Scots Magazine* that Newhaven was "still not a bad-looking place, but one thing it's not anymore, and that is a fishing village."[6] The fishermen, fishwives, and fisher children of Newhaven began to look for other kinds of work during these years. Soon after the North East Edinburgh Local Plan designated all but the northeastern-most corner of Newhaven a residential zone, Chancelot Mills[7] erected a massive flour mill on the shores of the Forth that provided local jobs for those Newhaveners who wanted to work nearby on land.[8] Oil platforms now loomed along the edge of the Firth of Forth, drastically changing the view of the horizon from Newhaven's shore. Several Newhaveners worked on those platforms, putting them back out on the Forth's familiar waters.[9] The ones who wanted to use their maritime expertise also found jobs on either cargo or cruise ships, oil tankers, or trawlers out of Granton or Leith.[10]

William Liston ran the last fishing trawler company to operate out of the Edinburgh area, William Liston, LTD. After serving at sea for his entire life, and at one point working as the youngest skipper in the country at age 21, Willie bought out his previous employer in 1951 and began building a fleet of coal-run fishing trawlers, which he replaced with diesel power four years later. Since trawlers were much more profitable

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[6] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 623.

[7] John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, and David Walker, eds., *Edinburgh: The Buildings of Scotland* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 462.

[8] Andrew M. Holmes, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," *Newhaven Conservation Plan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Town Council, 2000), 17.

[9] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 632.

[10] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

than Newhaven's traditional inshore yawls, it is no surprise that Willie and his company outlasted them all. In fact, as company after company went out of business during the fishing decline years, Willie purchased their ships and grew his fleet. He sold his company to Boyd Line of Hull in 1973 but stayed on to help co-manage it with his son, rebranding the business as W. Liston, LTD. Two years later, he and his son made the decision to sell their entire fleet and invest the proceeds into two brand-new, technologically up-to-date fishing trawlers as a means of getting ahead of their competition. These two new trawlers were 160 feet long, carried up to 2000 boxes of fish, traveled far out into the deep sea, and operated with crews of fourteen each.[11]

During a period when local media described the fishing industry as being "in the doldrums,"[12] Willie retired in 1977 concerned about the fishing industry's future but pleased with his company's performance.[13] He spent the next year closing down the Newhaven and Granton Trawler Owner Association after serving as its chairman for the previous decade. Near the end of this process in 1978,[14] he got bad news from Boyd Line: the company's leaders had decided that Granton was no longer a suitable port for their trawler fleet, and they were closing W. Liston, LTD.[15] This was the end of local fishing in the Forth exactly 50 years after Newhaven launched its last inshore yawl, the *Reliance*.[16]

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[11] William Liston, interview with Jane George, Newhaven, June 27, 1995.
[12] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 630.
[13] Liston, interview with Jane George, June 27, 1995.
[14] Denise Brace, Helen Clark and Elaine Greg, *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs* (Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council Department of Recreation, 1998),19.
[15] Liston, interview with Jane George, June 27, 1995.
[16] Chris Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community" (unpublished manuscript, 2013), 38.

One of the reasons 1978 was a bad year for fishing pertained to the end of the so-called Iceland War, or Cod Wars. The fishermen had a lot to say about this international episode, as well as several of the Newhavener women I interviewed. During the middle of the 1970s, Iceland and Great Britain had several naval skirmishes involving the Iceland Coast Guard and British fishing fleet. Even though both countries had specific fishing areas designated for their fleets, the Icelandic government began to force British fishing trawlers out of waters they had traditionally fished, claiming the waters for Iceland. After several "near-miss" encounters that would have created major diplomatic incidents between the two countries, both governments worked out a plan for enforcing their international maritime boundaries. All of the Newhaveners spoke very angrily about the resolution, accusing the British government of betraying its own people by capitulating to Iceland's demands, which included a new 200-mile limit around their island.[17] Britain lost the Cod Wars, and the Scottish fishing industry suffered most from the loss, magnifying the gradual decline of the entire industry.[18]

The Fishmarket continued to sell fish and other seafood in the 1980s, but it had changed. All of its items came from other parts of Scotland, and there were no more fishwives carrying its wares into the city for sale.[19] John Mackay, writing for "Edinburgh's Vanishing Villages" in the *Evening News*, visited Newhaven in 1981 and wrote about its quiet streets being punctuated by the "sound of the Fishmarket ringing over them." That day, about 600 buyers visited the Fishmarket, a good turnout at that

[17] Paul Thompson, Tony Walley, and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1983), 42.

[18] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 14, 2014.

[19] J.F. Birrell, *An Edinburgh Alphabet* (Edinburgh: James Thin/Mercat Press, 1980), 160.

time.[20] Four years later, the Newhaven Fishsalesmen's Association announced that the building needed about £250,000 in repairs, and because "the fishing industry [was] not in a very strong position at the moment," its members were soliciting donations to save the historic building. Newhaven's MP Ron Brown lamented the situation, telling the media that losing the Fishmarket would mean a loss of real fishing jobs, further eroding the memory of old Newhaven.[21] Through its efforts, the Fishsalesmen's Association saved the Fishmarket. Since that time, it has housed several restaurants and the Newhaven Heritage Museum. A small fish market now operates on its north end and two high-end seafood restaurants serve customers on its south end along Lindsay Road.

The Fishmarket survived after the 1980s, but the Society of Free Fishermen was not so lucky. During the fishing decline years of the fifties and sixties, many Newhaven fishermen feared that the Society would cease to function. In 1961, the Preses[22] of the Society, Walter L. Rutherford, assured the villagers that the role of the Society had not changed: it would continue to serve as a "vigorous defender of Newhaven's historic rights and privileges."[23] With this in mind, it is surprising that the Society did so little to defend its members' rights during the Redevelopment. With the exception of an open letter from the Society requesting clarification on the Council's plans for Main Street, there is no record of the Society resisting the changes forced upon Newhaven during the 1958-1978 period.

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[20] John Mackay, "Dropping Anchor on the Waterfront," *Evening News*, August 29, 1981.
[21] Margaret Hacker, "Closure Crisis at Harbour," *Evening News*, October 23, 1985.
[22] The Preses was the president of the Society of Free Fishermen.
[23] Our Special Correspondent, "Newhaven's Society of Free Fishermen," *Edinburgh Evening News*, February 21, 1961.

When the Thatcher government passed the Financial Services Act 1986, it changed regulations for the operation of pension systems across the country.[24] Under the new law's requirements, the Society had to pay £3000 annually to keep meeting.[25] This might have been a possibility in 1940 when the Society had 340 members,[26] but after four decades of major decline in the fishing industry, the fraternal order's roster boasted only 150 fishermen.[27] Pleading with members old and new, as well as reaching out to fisher families across the globe, the Society attempted to raise the funds necessary to pay its new annual dues. In 1988, Boxmaster William Logan Wilson predicted that as long as there were Newhaveners still alive around the world, the Society would continue, even if its sole purpose was to honor the memory of the past.[28] Not even a year later, John Liston, who served as the last preses, announced that there was no way the Society could stay financially viable under the Financial Services Act or meet its rigorous standards,[29] so the Society voted to close its doors in June 1989.[30] An old fraternal society dedicated to helping fishermen was no longer needed in a modern neighborhood that had almost no fishermen in it anymore.

Fishing in Newhaven today is very limited in scope, and it mostly serves as a draw for tourism. The scarcity of fish in the Forth and surrounding waters only worsened in the 1990s,[31] leading today's Scottish fishing fleet to locate primarily out of Port Seton,

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[24] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*, June 3, 1989.
[25] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 32.
[26] John Herries McCulloch, "These Fishermen Fight for Freedom," *Scottish Sunday Express*, September 22, 1940.
[27] John Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, Newhaven, March 8, 1994.
[28] George Garson, "Two Sea Dogs with a Mission of Honour," *Evening News*, January 23, 1988.
[29] Liston, interview with Elaine Finnie, March 8, 1994.
[30] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*.
[31] "Newhaven Heritage Museum Quotes List," Museum of Edinburgh Collections Center, Edinburgh, May 22, 2014.

which has also declined to the point that it is a "sprat-sized shadow of its former self."[32] The "once busy fishing village" of Newhaven now boasts a single ship that fishes for lobsters, the *LH 29*, which is owned by Newhavener Davy Brand.[33] While Newhaven Harbor hosts a variety of privately-owned boats and small sailing craft, there are no commercial vessels among them that catch fish. Tourists come to Newhaven to take pictures of the old lighthouse, the Fishmarket, and the Flemish-style homes, and the harbor provides a beautiful view for residents of the neighborhood of Newhaven. In fact, the lighthouse and harbor have replaced the Newhaven fishwife as the main symbols of contemporary Newhaven.

The Newhaveners' New Newhaven

Throughout Newhaven's history, Edinburgh city government officials frequently altered the village's spaces, even the land beneath it. King James IV's New Haven became new once again during the 1958-1978 period due to the major changes that occurred there. The Redevelopment's massive transformation of Newhaven left behind an entirely different set of residential blocks. After completion of the reconstruction, Newhaven Main Street's odd cutoff on the western side was soon joined by a similar one on the eastern side, except instead of flowing into Lindsay Road as Main Street had done previously, the city built a short north-south connector road next to Victoria Primary School's playground.[34] To access Main Street from Lindsay Road, drivers and pedestrians had to turn onto the connector road, then immediately turn left or right onto

[32] Sandra Dick, "Catching Up on the Great Age of Fishing," *Evening News*, January 13, 2007.

[33] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 18-19.

[34] Please refer to Appendix A, Map 4 during this section.

Annfield to get to Main Street.[35] The new setup of Newhaven's roads explains why J.R. Russell said, "I could see the village, but I couldn't find a way in," when he visited Newhaven in 1976.[36] It also explains the common Newhavener belief that the new traffic arrangement "cut off the life" of the village."[37] With traffic going around Newhaven, the neighborhood became much quieter, almost feeling forgotten.

A 1991 "Flashback" column in the *Evening News* summarized the situation Newhaveners and their new neighbors found themselves in after the Redevelopment. Posting a picture of a young Esther Liston carrying the creel, the short article discussed Newhaven of old, with its fishwives and full harbor, concluding that "Newhaven, too, has changed beyond recognition."[38] Mina Ritchie, looking at pictures of today's Newhaven, said the Council had "spoilt it" by altering its spaces too drastically.[39] These spatial changes surrounded the Newhaveners, and they included everything from Newhaven's new street names and its rearranged communal spaces to the presence of many unfamiliar faces.

In 1977, Town Councillor Tom Nisbet requested suggestions from Newhaveners on names for the new streets. He wondered if they would prefer a name from the past, one of the old Newhaven street names, or choose an entirely new one. The Council responded by saying that while it appreciated hearing the Newhaveners' thoughts, the

[35] Susan Edwards, Catherine Lighterness, Maureen MacGregor, Nessie Nisbet, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, May 22, 2014.

[36] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 622.

[37] Marina Bain, Debbie Dickson, Catherine Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 18, 2015.

[38] "Flashback," *Evening News*, March 27, 1991.

[39] Mary Kay and Mina Ritchie, interview with Nicola Colgan, Newhaven, January 17, 1994.

Council and Edinburgh city government would make the final choice.[40] Once again, the people living in Newhaven were denied a say in defining their spaces.[41]

The first part of the Redevelopment, which rebuilt New Lane and constructed Great Michael Rise on the land that formerly housed Fisherman's Park, preserved a small section from the former green space of Fisherman's Park. Basil Spence did this in his design because Great Michael Rise occupants had no private gardens, so he ensured they would be able to look out onto a well-maintained open public space.[42] Paul McAuley lived in Great Michael Rise from 2005 to 2014, and when I asked him about the old Newhaven, he described the village in the 1950s as being "a dump." By the time Paul moved into Newhaven in 2005, the neighborhood had changed so much that he loved his Newhaven apartment; it was a great flat with fantastic views of the Forth, "but times move on, and that's the bottom line of all this."[43]

J.R. Russell made a note of how nice the new Great Michael Rise area was during his 1976 visit as well.[44] However, as several Newhaveners pointed out, the price of Great Michael Rise was losing Fisherman's Park, their only large open space. Since they had also lost St. Andrews Church and later Fisherman's Hall after the Society of Free Fishermen closed in 1989, these closures meant that the only communal spaces left for people living in Newhaven were the sidewalks of Newhaven Main Street, Victoria Primary School playground, the Harbor area, a few restaurants, and Newhaven Parish Church. Most of Newhaven the village's sites of belonging were gone, and the residents

[40] Deidre Davey, "Name Your Street," *Evening News*, March 16, 1977.
[41] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 622.
[42] Holmes, "Character Appraisal," 14.
[43] Paul McAuley, interview with author, Edinburgh, May 22, 2014.
[44] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 622.

of Newhaven the neighborhood had to create their own sites of belonging in place of the former ones.[45]

When the *Evening News* interviewed Esther Liston in 1978 about changes the city made to Newhaven, her first comment was a complaint about not knowing anyone in Newhaven, even though they were her neighbors. Esther said many "strangers" lived in the village now, and with the old ways gone from Newhaven daily life, she "didn't think anyone [would] be able to recapture the atmosphere now."[46] Five years later, the *Evening News* returned to see how Newhaven was doing, and David Hall, whom the paper described as being one of Newhaven's elder gentlemen, said, "The warmth's gone out of the village these days. It's full of… interlopers."[47] In 1988, William Logan Wilson, the last Boxmaster of the Society of Free Fishermen, lamented the transformation of Newhaven daily life. Newhaven was no longer a busy fishing village full of family and friends. Newhaven had lost its "bustle, the neighborliness, and the shared struggles" that made the old village so endearing to him.[48] Newhaven's new residents would have to build a new community in the old village's place.

In the years that followed the Redevelopment, two more major projects came along that threatened to significantly alter Newhaven's shoreline again, the Wardie Bay Project and the Western Harbour Project. In the late 1980s, a proposal called the Wardie Bay Project, which encouraged the filling in of the entire shoreline from western Newhaven to Granton, began to gain popularity, at least with Forth Ports, the City of

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[45] Chris Garner and Margaret Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.
[46] "Ancient Blended with the Modern: Parliament Square – Old Town's Heart," *Evening News*, August 8, 1978.
[47] George Garson, "Reflections on Fishin'," Evening News, November 12, 1983.
[48] Garson, "Two Sea Dogs."

Edinburgh Council, and people who did not live in either Newhaven or Granton.[49] The project proposed to raise up several acres of land for the city to use as a new residential district interspersed with commercial venues,[50] which Newhaveners described as being "posh" and "for the rich."[51] Learning from the Newhaveners' mistakes during the Redevelopment period, the pushback against the project joined together hundreds of protestors from Newhaven and the surrounding communities, which they successfully defeated in 1990. The presence of Newhaven's neighbors in the coalition gave the resistance the influence it needed to stop Wardie Bay from becoming a reality.[52]

The Western Harbour Project has a much longer history than Wardie Bay, although the two projects were similar because they both reclaimed land from the Firth of Forth. The main difference came from the Western Harbour project being located about a mile east of the proposed area for Wardie Bay. When the Scottish government hired the Dutch firm Kallis to infill the shoreline in front of Annfield in 1936,[53] the project stopped and started several times due to World War II,[54] but when Kallis finally completed the project in 1944, the company had reclaimed about ten acres of land from the Forth.[55] The Leith Dock Commission used this land to extend its dockyards, as well as build some industrial sites, like the several-story Chancelot Flour Mill, over the next

[49] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[50] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 13.
[51] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[52] Garner and Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[53] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, March 25, 2015.
[54] Garner and Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.
[55] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 12.

two decades.[56] While Newhaveners lamented the loss of the shoreline, the city celebrated the expansion of its massive docks.[57]

The Western Harbour Project began in the early 1990s. The City of Edinburgh Council decided to "regenerate" its huge Leith seaport, repurposing much of the land for residential and commercial use by removing old, brownfield industrial sites no longer in business.[58] The Council paid to have another seven acres of land raised up out into the Firth of Forth beyond Newhaven's current breakwater as part of its new proposal for the Newhaven shoreline, which it called Western Harbour.[59] By 1997, several businesses were already under construction, including a new hotel, restaurant, and fitness center just north of the lighthouse. Brewer's Fayre restaurant spokesman Mike Gilbert said his company chose Newhaven because of the strong economic growth expected in the area due to the Western Harbour plan.[60] A year later, the Next Generation Clubs fitness center opened to much acclaim. Its owners specifically designed the center to blend in with Newhaven architecture.[61]

Newhaven was not the only area to experience another redevelopment of its coastline. In 1998, across the water to the east in Leith, Forth Ports opened a £40 million development project called Ocean Terminal. It included an indoor mall, cinema, grocery store, and hundreds of modern apartments.[62] It also became the resting place of the retired Royal Yacht *Britannica*. When the *Britannica* arrived at its final home, local

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[56] "Old Gives Way to New," *Evening News*, September 11, 1967.
[57] "Newhaven Today," *Edinburgh Evening News*, May 10, 1938.
[58] "From a Quiet Fishing Village to a Bustling Centre of Business," *Evening News*, September 3, 1997.
[59] Flucker et al, interview with author, March 25, 2015.
[60] "From a Quiet," *Evening News*, September 3, 1997.
[61] R.M., "£8M Hits Right Quay," Evening News, February 13, 1998.
[62] "From a Quiet," *Evening News*, September 3, 1997.

media compared it to another royal ship that used to be berthed next door in Newhaven, the *Great Michael*.[63] The *Britannica* is now a popular tourist attraction.

As the new millennium began, Forth Ports and the City of Edinburgh Council continued their plans to expand Western Harbor, but this time they wanted to seize upon Newhaven's historic nature and encourage greater tourism in the area. They considered a variety of plans that proposed to emphasize Newhaven's distinctive elements, including the *Great Michael*, the lighthouse, the harbor, its seafood, the fisher families who used to live there, and its rich history.[64] After much consideration, Forth Ports chose one and submitted its official seven-year plan to redevelop the entire Newhaven Harbor area to the Council in 2006. The Council had to approve the plan because of Newhaven's legal designation as an historic area.

This second phase of the Western Harbour project was quite ambitious. Forth Ports proposed to spend £2 million redeveloping Newhaven Harbor, adding a well-lit boardwalk with benches and safety rails, and renovating the Fishmarket so it could hold more coastal-themed restaurants and cafes. The renovation included a plan to temporarily close the Newhaven Heritage Museum, which was housed in the Fishmarket, until the redevelopment project was completed.[65] Forth Port's goal was to make Newhaven a major tourist center where families could shop, eat out, and enjoy time on the Forth. The plan also laid out the vision for the northern part of the peninsula. This area would contain 3000 new apartment homes in high-rise buildings, an ASDA

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[63] Iain Grimston, "Making Waves with the *Great Michael*," *Evening News*, October 10, 1998.

[64] Mark Smith, "Price of Place for a 500-Year-Old Flagship," *Evening News*, September 9, 2000.

[65] Brian Ferguson, "Harbour Gets a £2 Million New Look," *Evening News*, October 25, 2006.

supermarket,[66] an office building, and a public park with a large playground.[67] Finally, Forth Ports planned to follow up construction of the project with a major marketing campaign designed to attract people to the area. Property Chief Nathan Thompson told the local media that he wanted to see the harbor return to its former status as a community center for both villagers and visitors, "creating a real sense of place."[68]

Even though the Western Harbour expansion is still ongoing, Forth Ports has accomplished many of its project goals. Three multi-million dollar luxury apartment buildings line the western breakwater, each seven to ten stories high.[69] ASDA sits on the southeastern corner of the peninsula and serves hundreds of customers every day.[70] The Number 10 bus route begins at "Western Harbour" at the end of the road leading onto the reclaimed land, serving thousands of new residents who live in Newhaven. Restaurants like Brewer's Fayre and Loch Fine serve seafood and other Scottish dishes to customers who come down to the Harbor. Today's Newhaven is a tourist attraction that also serves as a quiet capital city neighborhood, explaining why the Newhaven Heritage Museum's official Newhaven booklet described the former village as "an attractive place to live and visit."[71]

Not surprisingly, Newhaveners have a variety of opinions about the changes Western Harbour brought to Newhaven. They think the high-rises mar their beautiful skyline and cost too much to rent or own.[72] All of the Newhaveners told me with

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[66] The name of Walmart in Scotland.

[67] "New Boat Comes in for Newhaven's Faded Fishmarket," *Evening News*, January 10, 2006.

[68] Ferguson, "Harbour Gets a £2 Million New Look."

[69] Sandra Dick, "Catching Up."

[70] I lived in one of them for two months.

[71] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 13.

[72] Catherine Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Summerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 20, 2015.

certainty that "the water will come back," as in the reclaimed land will fall back into the sea.[73] The former villagers refuse to buy any property out on the peninsula because they saw how it was built, and they know how efficient water is at returning to its original place.[74] They adamantly believe that it is just a matter of time until this happens. This weighed on me during my weeks living in Newhaven on the fifth floor of one of those high-rises. The seemingly-permanent large puddle of water in the middle of the peninsula, present even when there had been no rain, made me wonder if the Newhaveners' warnings were true.[75] Whether their prediction will come true or not, and we all hope it does not, I appreciated their eagerness to warn me because it was a very caring and neighborly thing to do.

Becoming Neighbors

When the *Evening News* declared in 1978 that Newhaven's strong community was gone forever, the newspaper was reacting to the devastating consequences of the Redevelopment period for the Newhaveners, but the editors were wrong.[76] The Newhavener families allowed to return by the Edinburgh Town Council began to rebuild a community for themselves, and they invited Newhaven's new residents to join them. They were aided by the remaining centers of social life in the neighborhood, Victoria Primary School and Newhaven Parish Church.

Victoria Primary School developed a reputation of excellence over the years under the leadership of its headmasters. After the Redevelopment, the school began to

[73] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, March 18, 2015.

[74] Debbie Dickson, Catherine Lighterness, and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

[75] Christine Ramsay Johnston and James Johnston, interview with author, Boise, July 6, 2015.

[76] "Ancient Blended with the Modern," *Evening News*.

serve as a center for creating the social cohesion required to support a healthy neighborhood, especially one with such a rich history. J.R. Russell interviewed Headmaster Elizabeth Graham and her staff in his 1976 visit. She told him the entire faculty worked diligently to encourage students to identify with their common Newhaven ancestry. Values from Newhaven's past, like the importance of frugality, hard work, and devotion to family, were just a handful of lessons the teachers taught Newhaven's students, many of whom were new to Newhaven.[77] When Malcolm Cant visited Newhaven ten years later, he wrote that "at the present time [Victoria Primary School] is acutely aware of its responsibilities to keep alive the old traditions of Newhaven," and he saw an example of this in the School's hosting of Newhaven's recently-resurrected Gala Day,[78] a festival that came back to Newhaven under the leadership of Frank Ferri and the Newhaven District and Community Association.[79]

Frank continued his advocacy on behalf of Newhaven after the Redevelopment ended through the work of the Newhaven District and Community Association. The NDCA provided a platform for Newhaven's residents to voice their thoughts and concerns. Even though it seems that the Newhaven District and Community Association went dormant as the 1970s ended and the 1980s began, the Association reconstituted itself when the Edinburgh Town Council threatened to close Victoria Primary School in 1983.[80]

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[77] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 632.

[78] Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1986), 167.

[79] Roland Mann, "A Community That Won't Die," *Evening News*, March 29, 1985.

[80] Frank Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 1, April 17, 1984.

Meeting in November 1983, the Association agreed to form the Newhaven Action Group, whose main goal was to save the school.[81] The NCDA put political pressure on the Council by raising public awareness through meetings, petitioning, and a letter-writing campaign. When Council members held a public forum a few months later, Frank spoke for the Association when he told them that "Newhaven was a village and had a strong sense of community spirit," and he added, "Now we must prove ourselves and protect our community from any future threats." Under his leadership, the Association promised to build a new culture for everyone in the neighborhood by promoting "social, cultural, and welfare facilities within the community."[82] Frank's goal was simple: to keep the spirit of Newhaven alive and well.[83] Not only did the NDCA save the school from closure, it also succeeded in launching a host of fun neighborhood activities, like an Easter Parade, a summer evening out on the town in Edinburgh, and a supper dance in Leith,[84] with the most important being the return of Gala Day.[85]

Festivals provide an important space for people to unite under a "grand unanimity of purpose" as they celebrate community, whether real or imagined outside of the festive space.[86] Festivals also enable people to instill meaning into the spaces they live in,[87] and in return, those new collective meanings are imprinted upon the individual, who now enjoys a stronger connection with the greater whole.[88] This is exactly what the young neighborhood needed. When the Newhaven District and Community Association

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[81] "Gala Revival Planned," *Evening News*, March 9, 1984.
[82] Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 1.
[83] Mann, "A Community That Won't Die."
[84] Frank Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 2, June 11, 1984.
[85] Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 1.
[86] Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 83.
[87] Ibid., 134.
[88] Ibid., 9.

proposed to hold a Gala Day, the members' main purpose was to foster a greater sense of community and revive memories of Newhaven's great past.[89] After the "devastation of the reconstruction," it was met with skepticism at first.[90]

Most Newhaveners had no idea what the NDCA was referring to because it had been three decades since the last Gala Day.[91] In 1955, the villagers spent an entire day celebrating their way-of-life. Gala Day featured a host of activities and rituals unique to Newhaven and created by the Newhaveners. Therein lies Gala Day's importance: it was Newhaveners talking about themselves and celebrating the culture they made over time through rituals they agreed upon together.

Gala Day in 1955 began with the arrival of a "sea queen," a girl chosen by the villagers who represented the best of Newhaven, and her entourage of children on the *Gratitude* in Newhaven Harbor.[92] That year, the Sea Queen was Jean Cowie.[93] After the children left the ship, they led a processional of fishermen, fishwives, the local Boys Brigade, and the Gas Department Pipe Band down the street into Victoria Primary School's playground area. There, child actors portraying famous royals from British history joined the Sea Queen on stage, where the school's headmaster, William Ball, performed her coronation.[94] A Mrs. Henry Robb sang "Caller Herrin'," and then the entire crowd sang "Land of Hope and Glory." Afterwards, villagers continued celebrating by visiting local booths full of games, food, and wares, as well as eating, drinking, and dancing in the streets while the Pipe Band played.[95] Frank Ferri and his

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[89] "Gala Revival Planned," *Evening News*.
[90] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 93.
[91] "Gala Revival Planned," *Evening News*.
[92] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 20.
[93] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 55.
[94] "Gala Revival Planned," *Evening News*.
[95] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 20.

friends wanted to take the best parts of the old Gala Day and reintroduce it into Newhaven neighborhood life as an annual gathering.

The NDCA set the date of Saturday, June 23, 1984 for Newhaven's first new Gala Day. The Association borrowed all of the previous one's best parts, including the pipe band, various booths from local venders, music and other local entertainment, sporting events, and the coronation of a local Sea Queen.[96] The festival's planners also expanded Gala Day into a Gala Week, where every day leading up to Gala Day witnessed a fun event. Gala Week included a Best Decorated House Competition that gave prizes to Newhaveners for decorating their homes in festive regalia for the celebration.[97]

The 1984 Gala Day Festival lasted from 11:00 am until 4:30 pm, and it was a huge success, with hundreds of Newhaveners coming out to enjoy the festivities.[98] The Association chose Newhaven 11-year-old Christine Downie to serve as the Sea Queen. After her flotilla arrived in Newhaven Harbor,[99] a large processional led by the local Boys Brigade escorted the Sea Queen and her entourage down to Victoria Primary School's playground area, where the Association performed the coronation.[100] Frank Ferri believed the large turnout proved to the capital city that Newhaven's "community spirit [was] still alive."[101] In fact, the event did so well that Frank and the Association announced that they would sponsor Gala Day again in 1985.[102] Gala Day continued for a decade until it stopped in 1995 due to concerns over the excessive alcohol consumption

[96] Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 1.
[97] Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 2.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Graham Law, "Gala Days Return," *Evening News*, May 28, 1984.
[100] "Gala Voyage for a Queen," *Evening News*, June 22, 1984.
[101] Law, "Gala Days Return."
[102] Mann, "A Community That Won't Die."

that occurred, as well as a void in local leadership willing to sponsor the event.[103] Learning from the past, Newhaven's neighbors resurrected Gala Day again in 2010 when the Council threatened to close Victoria Primary School and they wanted to show the Council how strongly the neighborhood valued their school. The plan worked, and Newhaven has celebrated Gala Day annually for ten years now.

Gala Day was very important because it "re-introduced a sense of community" back into Newhaven. It also had the added benefit of allowing displaced Newhaveners to return and spend time with their old friends.[104] The NDCA intentionally sponsored events displaced Newhaveners could attend, events that allowed them to reminisce about old Newhaven. George Liston presented a History Night in June 1984, and that summer, the NDCA put on a Summer Playhouse for the neighborhood's children that celebrated Newhaven's history, as well as performing other children's theatre works.[105] Later in September, the Association invited all of the villagers back to witness the installation of a memorial bench placed in the center of the village. The bench's inscription said, "Caller Herrin – A Cry from the Past," which referred to the famous song about Newhaven's fishwives. The Association built the bench to serve as a marker for old Newhaven, a place of memory for everyone to come and remember Newhaven's storied past.[106] The Newhaven District and Community Association remained active for a few years before going dormant again around 1987.[107]

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[103] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 54.
[104] Ibid., 57.
[105] Ferri, "Newhaven & District Newsletter," No. 2
[106] "Seat Gift for a Fishing Village," *Evening News*, September 10, 1984.
[107] Garner and Garner, interview with author, March 24, 2015.

Another group determined to keep Newhaven's old ways alive in people's minds was the Fisher Lassies Choir. In 1981, John Mackay mentioned in his "Vanishing Villages" column that the Lassies continued to perform around the country, but its counterpart, the Fisherwomen's Choir, only sang on special occasions due to everyone's advanced age.[108] Four years later, the *Evening News* announced a call for new members for the Fisher Lassies, one of "Edinburgh's oldest choirs" at 96-years-old. Robert Allen, the choir's conductor since 1938, shared that the choir only had fourteen members now, down from a peak of 40, and it needed new members. Even though the Fisher Lassies sang about Newhaven, Robert invited anyone who could sing to audition; there "were no geographical restrictions" for joining.[109] He also said he feared a future where the Fisher Lassies no longer sang about the old village and its fishing ways. This came true a decade later when the Fisher Lassies Choir disbanded in the mid-1990s due to old age and lack of interest.[110]

In 1994, Sandy Noble told a group of fellow Newhaveners that Newhaven needed help building community spirit because "it lack[ed] life or identification." George Hackland and Cathy Lighterness agreed with him, although George added that a "small sense of community exists now in Newhaven" due to the few "old type" villagers living in the neighborhood. Cathy and Sandy both responded by saying that the old Newhaveners still felt a strong connection with one another, a "sense of belonging to each other," as Cathy put it. Mary Barker pointed to how well the funerals of former Newhaveners were attended as proof that some semblance of the old ways, and people's

[108] Mackay, "Dropping Anchor."
[109] Graham Law, "Casting a Line for Members," Evening News, April 12, 1985.
[110] Margaret Young, interview with author, Edinburgh, May 8, 2014.

connection to them, had managed to survive, despite all of Newhaven's challenges.[111] Sandy, George, Cathy, and Mary were right: by the mid-1990s, the neighborhood of Newhaven needed help strengthening its communal bonds, so the Edinburgh Town Council approved a decision by the Museum of Edinburgh to send help in the form of a museum. Newhaven's community would grow stronger by remembering its past, and the new Newhaven Heritage Museum would guide them.

Preserving What Was Lost

Near the end of 1992, the manager of Edinburgh Fish Restaurants offered to lease some extra space for free in the old Newhaven Fishmarket to the Museum of Edinburgh, if it wanted to put a museum there.[112] The space sat next to E.F.R.'s new fish and chips eatery, Harry Ramdsen's. While my sources were not sure who gave him the original idea, we know that it quickly became a collaboration between old Newhaveners and Helen Clark at the Museum of Edinburgh.[113] The Edinburgh Town Council accepted the offer, and when it announced a few months later in 1993 that it was going to fund a new museum about Newhaven in the Fishmarket, excitement filled the former village. The Museum of Edinburgh published a flier in August that its staff posted around Newhaven soliciting oral interviews with any Newhavener willing to share his or her story.[114] Under the "Can You Help?" section of the flier, the Museum also asked for donations of anything related to fishing, fisher families, the sea, customs, traditions, Gala Day, Newhaven's choirs, and the Society of Free Fishermen. The Museum's staff needed

[111] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jessie Mackay, Newhaven, March 4, 1994.
[112] H.C., "Opening of the Newhaven Heritage Museum," *Scots Magazine* (March 1994), 22.
[113] Diana Morton, interview with author, online, April 1, 2020.
[114] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 6.

these items to fulfill its purpose for the new museum: "to tell the story of the development of Newhaven and the life and work of the people who lived there" by the Newhaveners themselves. The flier listed Helen Clark as the point of contact.[115]

Helen Clark and her team, which was composed of local historians, museum curators, and volunteers, were not disappointed by the response. As the keeper of the proposed museum, Clark led the creation of the Newhaven Heritage Museum. By employing the same methods she used during preparation work for the People's Story Museum, which included making direct appeals to local people to put their stories in the museum, and then having a say in how the museum then represented those stories in its displays, Clark and her staff built a strong bond of trust with the Newhaveners.[116] Open meetings in Victoria Primary School and Newhaven Parish Church led to the formation of the 30-member Newhaven Community History Group, which recorded dozens of audio interviews with Clark's team.[117] The reminiscence group met periodically over several months to record interviews on general themes about life in the village, and many individual interviews were also collected with Newhaven residents who had specialized knowledge about life in Newhaven. Newhaveners were very grateful then, and still to this day, for Clark's great work including them in the process and making sure the museum accurately portrayed their stories.[118] They were not used to their voices being heard, and they had a lot to say about their beloved Newhaven.

Members of Clark's team told me their research revealed huge quantities of information about the former fishing village, but one common theme quickly became

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[115] Helen Clark, "Newhaven Heritage Museum Flier," 1993.
[116] Denise Brace, interview with author, Edinburgh, May 20, 2014.
[117] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 6.
[118] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

very clear: Newhaven was, indeed, a uniquely-distinct fishing village with its own special identity and culture, one the villagers created over several hundred years of living on the Forth. In fact, the adjective they used the most to describe Newhaven was "unique." Denise Brace told me that "it's not, in their minds, just a neighborhood or area… it's actually a community, and all of them still call it that" to this day. The Newhaveners' abiding connection with each other and their shared pasts enabled the Museum of Edinburgh's staff to capture their stories and build a museum that preserved Newhaven's heritage in a powerful way.[119]

The Newhaven Heritage Museum opened on May 25, 1994 to much acclaim and publicity around Edinburgh. Nellie Walls, the oldest living fishwife, cut the ribbon alongside a host of local officials, former villagers, and current Newhaven residents.[120] Admission was free with visitation hours from noon until 5:00 every day of the week.[121] The *Evening News* celebrated the Museum's opening by declaring that Newhaveners were finally getting to "have their say" for once through the Museum's use of their stories. The Museum would share with the world why Newhaven was "distinct from its larger neighbor" of Edinburgh.[122] Newhaveners like Jim Park loved the new museum and invited everyone to learn about Newhaven and its rich history.[123] In Tom McGowran's words, it was "a museum where there was a village," a new guardian of old Newhaven's legacy and past.[124]

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[119] Ibid.
[120] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 6.
[121] H.C., "Opening."
[122] Stephen Smith, "Telling Tales of Fisher Folk," *Evening News*, April 16, 1994.
[123] Jim Park, *Newhaven-on-Forth: My Story of a Living Village* (Millom: Regentlane Publishing, 1998), 3.
[124] Tom McGowran, *Newhaven on Forth, Port of Grace* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 136.

Because of the Newhaven Community History Group's great success in shaping the museum, the group decided not to disband after the grand opening. Many of its members became volunteers and exhibition guides, which the Museum called "volunteer interpreters" because of the "fierce sense of pride" they brought to their work.[125] According to Denise Brace, Newhaveners' love for Newhaven added a wonderful dimension to the experience because visitors could actually speak with real Newhaveners about Newhaven. The guides could point to pictures and tell visitors stories of the people in them from first-hand experience.[126] On Saturdays, one of the History Group's members would sit in the Museum and present a lecture on a Newhaven-related topic;[127] George Hackland, Cathy Lighterness, Mary Clement, and several others all participated.[128] The Newhaven Community History Group's involvement explains part of the reason why the Museum had a fantastic first several years.

During the Newhaven Heritage Museum's inaugural year, 31,027 visitors came through the doors. It was a stunning response that surprised even former villagers.[129] Many people from around the world with connections to Newhaven or other fishing villages along the Forth wanted to learn more about the ancient village. Denise Brace, who took over as curator for Helen Clark after the Museum opened,[130] described the Museum's first few years as being "wonderful" and full of "wonderful synergy" with everyone involved.[131] During its second year, the Museum won the honor of "highly

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[125] Brace et al, Newhaven, 7.
[126] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[127] Young, interview with author, May 8, 2014.
[128] Mary Clement, interview with author, Newhaven, May 19, 2014.
[129] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 3.
[130] Diana Morton, interview with author, Edinburgh, May 15, 2014.
[131] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

commended" by the Scottish Museum Council's Museum of the Year Awards.[132] In 1998, Lord Provost of Edinburgh Eric Milligan congratulated the Museum on its four years of tremendous success, and he attributed much of it to the hard work of the Museum's leadership team and their local-based approach.[133]

Under Denise Brace's leadership, the Newhaven Heritage Museum became quite popular. Brace would come down most mornings to work with the onsite staff and local volunteers, then head back to the Museum of Edinburgh's headquarters during visitation hours. Brace told me she often received genealogical requests that she normally would not have been able to answer, but because of the devoted Newhaveners on her team, she often successfully responded to questions about people's families.[134] Because the Museum did so well, Brace and her team decided to publish an official booklet in 1998 commemorating Newhaven. This work, which they entitled *Newhaven: Personal Recollections and Photographs*, tells the story of Newhaven, with its royal beginnings, struggle to survive, and "eventual regeneration" through the use of stories, historical data, and a plethora of Newhaven photographs.[135] Lord Provost Eric Milligan wrote the foreword to honor the people of Newhaven and congratulate the Museum staff's hard work.[136]

The other secret of the Newhaven Heritage Museum's success was the approach the staff used to convey social history. Brace told me about how strongly she and her team emphasized the need to serve the local audience by capturing and retelling the

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[132] "Nothing Fishy About Museum Success," *Evening News*, June 12, 1995.
[133] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 3.
[134] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[135] "Urban Retreat," *Scotland on Sunday*, March 3, 2001.
[136] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 3.

stories of the people who lived there, in this case, the Newhaveners. It was their history; they "knew best about it." Brace insisted on finding obvious and subtle ways to insert the villagers' voices into the Museum displays. This integration gave their exhibitions an added dimension of realism that appealed to their visitors.[137] It was, in a sense, "living history." Folks visiting the Museum talked with real-life Newhaveners wearing fishermen's and fishwives' costumes.[138] They could practice carrying a creel like a fishwife or walk through the steps of the arduous daily work of a fisherman out at sea.[139] Brace's successful approach as curator explains why the Newhaven Heritage Museum became known as having "something… for people of all ages."[140]

Having dealt with such transformational change over the past two decades, the former villagers took comfort in the Newhaven Heritage Museum's role in preserving the history of old Newhaven. It was "their history," as Cathy Lighterness told me, and the Museum found new ways to pass along Newhaven's story to the next generation.[141] The Museum gave the Newhaveners another chance to define their narrative for Newhaven, the one they wanted to define its ancient spaces. The Museum also added a fun tourist attraction to Newhaven Harbor,[142] a perfect fit for the new tourist area the Council planned to make Newhaven into as the 1990s ended.[143] But before it could do so, city government had to do an assessment of the entire neighborhood to see what needed preserving and what needed redeveloping.

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[137] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[138] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[139] H.C., "Opening."
[140] Denise Brace and Helen Clark, "Newhaven Heritage Museum Pamphlet" (Edinburgh: Museum of Edinburgh, 1994).
[141] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[142] Smith, "Telling Tales."
[143] David Eyre, "Harbouring Memories of Newhaven," *Evening News*, October 31, 1998.

During the spring of 2000, the City of Edinburgh Council instructed its city planners to do a character appraisal of Newhaven, one of 38 conservation districts in the capital city. Conservation areas were those "areas of special architectural or historic interest" that the city wanted to preserve and enhance.[144] Having designated Newhaven a conservation zone in 1977, the Council decided to revisit and update its plans for the Newhaven Historic Area in accordance with the Planning Act 1997, Section 61.[145] In May, the Council approved a document entitled, "The Newhaven Conservation Area Character Appraisal," which served as a conservation planning proposal for Newhaven for the following two decades.

The "Character Appraisal" laid out its spatial approach to conservation by declaring at the outset that "the character of an area is established by a variety of features, such as the buildings and materials, built and spatial structure, public open space, setting and circulation." The plan divided Newhaven into two zones. In Zone 1, located in Newhaven's northern half, the city's planners found a historic core centered around Main Street and Newhaven Harbor.[146] The Harbor provided an important area of open space for the neighborhood and had experienced little change since the Redevelopment. Homes in Zone 1 were comprised of Flemish-style buildings constructed in terrace form with direct access to the street.[147] The plan's summary for Zone 1 identified the essential components that contributed to Newhaven's character as being the Harbor (and its lighthouse); the architecture of the buildings; Fishmarket Square; Newhaven's views of the Forth; its series of closes and building orientation diversity; the traditional materials

[144] Holmes, "Character Appraisal," 2.
[145] Ibid., 3.
[146] Ibid., 7.
[147] Ibid., 8.

used throughout; the strong visual edge from the shoreline; and the neighborhood's landmark buildings and trees.[148]

In Zone 2, the southern half of Newhaven, city planners found a residential area[149] with housing built in a linear east-west orientation that produced the effect of a "harmonious street scene."[150] A few shops permeated the homes. Small passageways were interspersed among the long streets, allowing pedestrians to walk through the neighborhood with ease. Zone 2's buildings sat on land gently sloping up from the Forth towards Trinity and overlooking Zone 1.[151] Overall, the planners wrote that Zone 2 had a "strong cohesive character," despite the presence of the southside's vastly different architecture and the glaring contrast it had with the homes on the northside.[152] The "Appraisal" listed Zone 2's essential character components as being its view of the Forth; the old industrial railway line along its southern border; its use of stone; the southside Main Street tenements and their distinctive balcony features; the variety of building types; all of the well-maintained front gardens; and the Great Michael Rise open greenspace.[153]

Having completed a thorough analysis of Newhaven, the "Appraisal" concluded that a healthy balance existed in Newhaven that came from its spatial character and long history. The interaction of its "spaces, building forms, roof pitches, gables, materials, eaves lines, pinch points, openings, and street frontages" all produced an effect that felt cozy, inviting, and reminiscent of the past,[154] despite the fact that since 1978, much of the

[148] Ibid., 12.
[149] Ibid., 7.
[150] Ibid., 13.
[151] Ibid., 8.
[152] Ibid., 13.
[153] Ibid., 15.
[154] Ibid., 9.

"traditional architecture had been replaced by modern housing."[155] The people of Newhaven currently living there added to this dynamic. The Newhaven Heritage Museum's booklet supported the conservation plan's conclusion when it wrote that a "sense of community has been maintained" by the work of both Newhaveners and new neighbors to create a new community within the space of the former fishing village.[156] To build upon the good things going on in Newhaven, the conservation plan recommended further redevelopment of the reclaimed land north and east of the Fishmarket, thus supporting the Council's desire to proceed with the Western Harbour project.[157] As the new century began, Newhaven's prospects were looking up, but the redevelopment and expansion of Newhaven Harbor would bring an unexpected development: the closing of the Newhaven Heritage Museum.

No One Will Pay for the Toilets

When the Newhaven Heritage Museum celebrated its 10-year anniversary in 2004, Denise Brace and her team decided to re-display the ten best exhibitions of the past decade in tribute to the Museum's success.[158] Attendance was lower than in years past, but the Museum was still popular and growing its collection of historical materials.[159] Then in January 2006 Forth Ports announced its seven-year plan for the expansion of Western Harbour; the plan included a total renovation of Newhaven's historic Fishmarket building, which housed the Museum.[160] Because of the work the project required, Forth

[155] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 12.
[156] Ibid., 14.
[157] Holmes, "Character Appraisal," 16.
[158] "Ten of Best for Museum," *Evening News*, May 25, 2004.
[159] McAuley, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[160] Ferguson, "Harbour Gets a £2 Million New Look."

Ports informed Brace that the Museum would have to be closed for six months beginning in September.[161] It was, but it never re-opened.[162]

The closing of the Newhaven Heritage Museum is yet another episode in Newhaven's history fraught with Newhaveners' great frustration over lack of communication with the City of Edinburgh Council, which oversaw the Museum of Edinburgh. Interviews with the people involved in the decision, as well as those folks living in Newhaven at the time, revealed conflicting accounts of the Museum's closure; some even said they did not know the real story.[163] There were Newhaveners who blamed the Council for not wanting to spend the money required to continue operations at Newhaven's museum, and there were others who blamed Forth Ports for being unwilling to work out an agreement with the Council that the Museum could afford. I even witnessed several women in a Newhaven café group begin a passionate debate about the issue after it came up in conversation. At least one person in the group argued for each of the aforementioned reasons for its closing.[164] That said, one aspect of the story appeared in all of the accounts, which Margaret McLean summarized this way: "They needed toilets, and no one wanted to pay for them!"[165]

John Hackland, a Newhavener speaking on behalf of the Newhaven Community History Group, told the *Evening News* in January 2006 that he and the group agreed with Forth Ports' proposed renovations because the Fishmarket, being such an old, historic building, needed repairs. John stressed the importance of continuing the Newhaven

[161] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.
[162] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[163] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.
[164] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[165] Margaret McLean, interview with author, Fairmilehead, May 27, 2014.

Heritage Museum's mission to teach younger generations about Newhaven's history and its fisher people; so as long as the redevelopment helped the Museum, then the neighborhood would do whatever was necessary to support the plan.[166] When the Museum closed in September, there was no controversy because everyone, including the Museum's staff, fully expected it to reopen once Forth Ports completed renovations. As Denise Brace shared with me in detail, the reasons behind the Museum not reopening were complicated and unfortunate.

When Brace told me the entire period surrounding the Newhaven Heritage Museum's closing "was just awful," I asked her to explain what she meant. There were a variety of factors in play, beginning with the Museum's neighbor, the fish and chip shop Harry Ramsden's. The Museum had no bathrooms, so it made an agreement with Harry Ramsden's next door that allowed Museum visitors to use their lavatories. However, when the fish and chippie closed in October 2002, the Museum no longer complied with the law's requirements for having public restrooms available for visitors, requiring it to get compliance waivers in order to stay open. About the same time, the roof began to leak, a huge problem because any water that fell onto the displays threatened to damage their historical components. The roof situation required Brace's team to cover up displays at night and move them away from leaky areas. Also, because Forth Ports owned the building, the Museum could not repair the roof on its own.[167]

When Forth Ports announced its massive redevelopment project, initially Denise and her team were hopeful. The Fishmarket, now over a century old, served as an important historical marker in Newhaven. Because it sat overlooking the Harbor right at

[166] "New Boat Comes In," *Evening News*.
[167] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

the midway point between the old village and Western Harbour, it united both old and new, especially since Forth Ports had already repurposed the building for contemporary uses. Forth Ports would pay for roof repair, and the closure would give Brace's staff time to prepare for a new season in the life of the Museum. However, when Forth Ports quietly approached the Museum of Edinburgh's Director of Development to negotiate a new lease, the situation worsened.

In March 2007, the *Evening News* published a story about the delay. The article said that the Newhaven Heritage Museum would not open for another several months due to weather-related construction work delays. When it finally did open, the Museum would have new bathroom facilities, a new bookshop and recreation area, and better access for the disabled. All of these new changes would join a brand-new boardwalk complete with trees and memorial benches along Newhaven Harbor, adding to the tourist appeal of the entire shoreline area.[168] When the February deadline for reopening had passed, there was still optimism among the Newhaveners because none of them knew the real story. What was really going on became clear in the next several months.

While Forth Ports worked on the redevelopment project, its negotiation team was also working behind the scenes to forge an agreement with their counterparts at the Museum of Edinburgh. Brace and her team wanted a new lease that preserved the Newhaven Heritage Museum's control over its space, as well as protected the free rent in the building. Forth Ports made it clear that free rent was not going to happen, so the two sides began to negotiate over an amount Forth Ports thought was fair and the Museum could afford.[169] When both sides announced their final deal in October 2007, the

[168] "Delays Put Waterfront Museum Reopening on Hold," *Evening News*, March 21, 2007.
[169] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.

agreement gave the Museum half of its original space at a rental price of £10,000 a year, plus it would be forced to pay for the cost of all renovations inside its now-much smaller area.[170]

After Forth Ports' demand for £10,000 a year became public knowledge that October, a lot of people got upset. Sources in Edinburgh city government told the *Evening News* that the Council was being "held to ransom" by Forth Ports, and many council members were angry. Newhaveners felt angry, too, for several reasons. First, this felt like yet another "bait and switch" scenario where they were told one thing and then given another when the process ended. Second, when several councillors admitted the Museum might not reopen, the Newhaveners began to suspect that Forth Ports had wanted to shut down the Museum all along due to the opening of the Loch Fyne seafood restaurant next door that very same month. For some Newhaveners, it made sense that Forth Ports would not want a museum about the village's past located right in the middle of a new waterfront with bars, restaurants, and tourist attractions meant to celebrate progress and the capital city's future. Forth Ports refused to comment on any allegations while it was in negotiations with the Council regarding the lease.[171]

Meanwhile, Brace and her team worked diligently to get the Museum of Edinburgh and the City of Edinburgh Council to agree to the deal. They were in a precarious situation: Newhaven Heritage Museum was housed in the only facility the Museum of Edinburgh did not own, and the Edinburgh Museum Service had never lost a facility before. The Newhaven Heritage Museum staff published a report laying out all

[170] Brian Ferguson, "Museum Hit by £10,000 Bill for Rent," Evening News, October 5, 2007.

[171] Ibid.

anticipated costs, how they would publicly fundraise, and how they would pursue grant monies, such as from the Scottish Heritage Lottery Fund. Margaret Young, one of Brace's best volunteers, told me that they strategized with a goal of "leaving no stone unturned."[172] Brace's director, who oversaw a much wider sphere than just the Newhaven Heritage Museum, reviewed her team's plan, and he concluded that they would "never, ever be able to get that kind of money." Having made his decision, he recommended permanent closure, and the Council endorsed his decision. The Newhaven Heritage Museum was closed for good.[173]

One of the reasons why Denise Brace described these months as being so difficult was because she had to tell her staff and team of volunteers the bad news. Brace said she gathered everyone around and told them about the Council's decision. She had become good friends with many of the Newhaveners, including Cathy Lighterness and George Hackland, and together, they spent fourteen years of their lives developing the Museum. The Newhaveners cherished the Museum because it served as the last institution dedicated solely to preserving their history and the memory of the former village, and they feared old Newhaven would be forgotten without it. Brace was also very partial to the Museum as its curator; her pride in their collective hard work came through in our interview. She called it "everything you'd hope a community museum would be" due to the local collaboration and excellence of the historical materials. Not surprisingly, the Museum's closing caused a huge outcry from a variety of people across Edinburgh, not just the Newhaveners, and they all began to pressure the Council to change its mind.[174]

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[172] Young, interview with author, May 8, 2014.
[173] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[174] Ibid.

Responding to the furor over the Newhaven Heritage Museum's closing, the City of Edinburgh Council and Forth Ports decided to commit £10,000 for a joint study into the Museum's future. In April 2009, the completed study concluded that remaining in the renovated Fishmarket was the best option, and the cost to repay Forth Ports for renovation of the space would be £232,500. The Council offered to pay Forth Ports £60,000, but Forth Ports rejected it, insisting on the full amount. Faced with the need for £170,000, the Council announced that the Newhaven Heritage Museum would remain closed.

Needless to say, the news angered and greatly disappointed the coalition of people who wanted to reopen the Museum. Diedre Brock, who served in city government as Edinburgh's cultural leader, described the outcome as being "very disappointing" due to the "wealth of enthusiasm" behind the Museum. She wondered why Forth Ports rejected the Council's offer, and she assured the public that the Council would continue to look for other ways to preserve Newhaven's history and make it known to future generations. Councillor Marjorie Thomas agreed with Brock, saying she was very disappointed. Councillor Thomas suggested that hopefully a joint museum covering both Newhaven and Leith could be opened in the future.[175]

The Neighbors Try Again

Despite the bad news about the Newhaven Heritage Museum's future, the Council's decision produced four positive consequences. First, despite being closed, the Museum captured a wealth of information and materials about the Newhaven the village's past, people, and culture. That material now sits in storage at the Museum of

[175] "Cash Shortfall Threatens Newhaven Heritage Museum," *Evening News*, April 30, 2009.

Edinburgh Collections Center, where it will be safeguarded until needed again.[176] I visited the Collections Center and spent several days going through the Museum's materials while researching this dissertation. Several Newhaveners shared that knowing the Museum of Edinburgh was preserving their information gave them some peace of mind about not being completely forgotten.[177]

The second good outcome of the closing was that it hardened the Newhaveners resolve to keep protecting and promoting their shared history. Many of them told me that Forth Ports simply wanted more money, and a historical museum was not going to produce major profits like an ASDA or Loch Fyne. Others blamed the Council for not finding more funds to spend on the Museum, especially in light of the Council's treatment of the former village.[178] Both sides were angry,[179] as well as fearful that the Museum's closing signaled the disappearance of their way-of-life,[180] so they decided to channel that anger into action by forming the Newhaven Action Group.

Former villagers like Dr. George Venters, George Hackland, Cathy Lighterness, and others formed the Newhaven Action Group in 2009 after the Council's decision to look for another site for the Newhaven Heritage Museum; they later changed their name to the Newhaven Heritage Association.[181] The Association motto is "working together to build a better future by learning from our heritage," and its goal is to reopen the Museum as the Newhaven Heritage Centre at a site in or close to Newhaven. Newhaven Heritage

[176] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[177] Willie Flucker, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, June 4, 2014.
[178] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[179] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[180] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.
[181] "About Us," Newhaven Heritage Center, last accessed January 20, 2020, http://www.newhavenonforth.org.uk/newhaven_aboutus.html.

also serves as a micro-community and site of belonging within the neighborhood, uniting former villagers and newcomers around the goal of promoting Newhaven's rich history.[182]

The vision for the Newhaven Heritage Centre is very specific and laid out in detail in its newsletters. First and foremost, Newhaven Heritage members want the Centre to serve as a "place where local people and groups can meet – to socialise, share ideas, and work together to bring the community feeling back to Newhaven." They also want it to contain museum displays, exhibits about the lives of everyday Newhaven people, information pertaining to Newhaven ancestry and genealogy, and a cozy café.[183] Their brochure, which gives a brief summary of Newhaven's entire history, closes by assuring readers that "the community that was once Newhaven still lives on in the modernised village today, and the sense of belonging still exists with many ex-pat families wherever they live in the world."[184] Even in Newhaven the neighborhood, the memory of the feeling of belonging Newhaveners felt in their lost village is still important enough to maintain among the remaining villagers.

To achieve their goals, Newhaven Heritage leadership has been sponsoring events and fundraisers. Members receive newsletters and updates about a variety of fun and informative activities, all in hopes of building community, raising awareness about the proposed Centre, and securing donations for its creation. Some activities have included Services of Remembrance for Newhaveners lost in the World Wars; neighborhood renewal projects, like cleaning up Starbank Park; the formation of a community choir;

[182] "Newhaven: A Centre of Heritage Brochure," Newhaven Heritage, Newhaven, 4.
[183] Ibid., 5.
[184] Ibid., 3.

and helping put on Gala Day. Dr. George Venters, who writes the newsletters, celebrated the large outpouring of support the Centre was seeing in his Spring/Summer 2014 newsletter, writing that "it's clear that there are many good people who want to improve life in the village."[185] This was true, as I saw firsthand during Gala Day 2014 when I visited Newhaven Heritage's busy booth. A lot of people were reading their materials and signing up to join the cause of opening a Heritage Centre that preserved and presented Newhaven's long history.[186]

The third positive outcome of the Council's decision came a year later, when the Museum of Edinburgh decided to take part of the money it had set aside for the Newhaven Heritage Museum and use it to pay for a new Newhaven "Wee" Museum. In 2010, the Museum of Edinburgh hired Diana Morton, who split her time up between various historical projects around the capital city in what Denise Brace described as "an outreach service to the Museum."[187] Working under Brace's supervision, Morton approached Newhaveners and asked about how they would like to proceed now that the Museum was closed for the time being. After a host of meetings, interviews, and speaking engagements, she reported back to Brace that the older generation wanted to pass along their history to the children of Newhaven through personal story-telling and historical displays. This idea birthed the Wee Museum in 2011.[188]

Morton asked Victoria Primary School's Headmaster Laura Thomson if the School would house the new mini-museum, and she agreed. When the Council heard the proposal to run a museum in Newhaven at a fraction of the previous one's cost, Council

[185] George Venters, "The Bow-Tow," Newhaven Heritage, No. 2, Spring/Summer 2014.
[186] Fraser Miller and George Venters, interview with author, Newhaven, May 24, 2014.
[187] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[188] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.

members strongly supported the idea. The Wee Museum has occupied a room in the school ever since. After praising Morton's hard work and successful community outreach, Denise Brace described the Wee Museum as "a happy solution, but not the ultimate solution" because she, Morton, and the Newhaveners still hope to reopen the Newhaven Heritage Museum.[189]

Updated at least once annually, the Wee Museum serves as a small but powerful reminder of Newhaven's past, its own small form of resistance against the Council's narrative for Newhaven. Because it sits inside Victoria Primary School, it is open to the public through appointments only, but the school children can visit it anytime. When I viewed the Wee Museum in 2014, I saw a replica of the *Great Michael*, fishing nets accompanied by an explanation of a typical fisherman's day, a fishwife and her story, and many other small displays about Newhaven and its culture. Newhaven Heritage is very supportive of Diana Morton's work with the Wee Museum.[190] Two of its members told me they appreciated the Museum of Edinburgh's effort to preserve Newhaven's history, even if only in a small way.[191]

The last benefit of the City of Edinburgh Council's decision to permanently close Newhaven Heritage Museum was the resurrection of Gala Day in 2010.[192] In 2009, when the Council threatened to close Victoria Primary School, now the oldest public school in Edinburgh,[193] Headmaster Laura Thomson looked to history for a solution.[194] Since Gala Day helped save the school in the 1980s, she decided to use the festival once again to

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[189] Brace, interview with author, May 20, 2014.
[190] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.
[191] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[192] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 54.
[193] Marina Bain, Catherine Lighterness, and Bettina Strang, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[194] Flucker et al, interview with author, March 25, 2015.

change the Council's mind by showing how strongly the neighborhood supported its school.[195] Reaching out to Newhaven Heritage, Thomson and a team of Newhaveners, joined by friends and neighbors living in Newhaven, launched the first Gala Day in 15 years on May 29, 2010.

Not only did the Council decide to keep Victoria Primary School open, the large turnout so surprised Gala Day's planners that they decided to do it again in 2011.[196] Because of the partnership between the School, Newhaven Heritage, and other local leaders in Newhaven, Gala Day has continued on for a decade, with the neighborhood celebrating it each year near the end of May or the first week of June. The neighbors were inventing and crafting their own new traditions in order to establish social cohesion and belonging in the neighborhood.[197] When I attended in 2014, I was pleasantly surprised at the huge turnout on a cool, misty day, and I could see the growing connections between today's Newhaven neighbors and the former villagers as they interacted, usually at a booth or in an activity involving the children.

Interviews with folks living in Newhaven today reveal strong favor for Gala Day and its role in strengthening their community bonds. With so few community activities or sites of belonging left in contemporary Newhaven, it makes sense that Gala Day is a special event for the neighborhood. Susan Edwards said she loved Gala Day because it allowed her to "get to know so many different people."[198] John Stephenson and Jock Robb told me they enjoyed the unity the event brought to Newhaven, making the day

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[195] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[198] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

seem almost reminiscent of the old village and its tight-knit community. For Jock, it was all about the "connection" he made with neighbors during the celebration.[199] Yvonne Demaude, who managed the Newhaven Church Café, agreed with John and Jock; she loved seeing people from church out with their families having a good time.[200] For others, like Cathy Lighterness and her friends, Gala Day's importance lies in its power to "keep [Newhaven's] history going."[201] Of course, as Nessie Carnie told me, Gala Day could never restore what was lost, but "it brought back a form of community" and a way to remember Newhaven, and that was something to be thankful for.[202]

The closing of the Museum spurred the former villagers left in the neighborhood to action. Having lost their fishing village, they did not want to lose the institution primarily devoted to preserving Newhaven's legacy. The Council's decision to close the Museum gave the Newhaveners a new purpose, one that united them around a worthy cause. Through the work of the Newhaven Heritage Association, Newhaveners reached out to their fellow Newhaven residents and formed a new community. They discovered that many of their neighbors were just as eager to strengthen contemporary Newhaven's communal bonds and build a place of belonging in Newhaven the neighborhood, too. They also found allies at the Museum of Edinburgh. Cultural historians like Helen Clark, Denise Brace, and Diana Morton eagerly supported the Wee Museum as a small but important step towards reopening the Newhaven Heritage Museum, as well as teaching new generations about the famous fishing village. As it turns out, despite the onslaught of forces outside the Newhaveners' control constantly affecting them over the centuries,

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[199] Jeannette Meek, interview with author, Newhaven, May 24, 2014.
[200] Yvonne Demaude, interview with author, Newhaven, March 25, 2015.
[201] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 17, 1985.
[202] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

the Newhaveners realized that they, too, had agency, and the ability to push back and create positive change for themselves and their neighbors.

The Media's Portrayal of Newhaven the Neighborhood

There are hundreds of media accounts about Newhaven. One of the fascinating parts of this study has been researching the local media's portrayal of Newhaven to the outside world and how it changed over time. Before Newhaven's twilight period, Scottish print media took a strong interest in the fishing village, which appeared frequently in the Edinburgh area's newspapers, as well as in some books. Journalists and guest writers usually lauded Newhaveners for their hard work providing fresh fish for the people of Scotland. Because of their multi-faceted culture, print media portrayed the villagers as being odd, insular, or an "other" deserving of respect, even if the author (and the reader) did not understand or want to be one of them.

As we have seen, whether writers were reporting on the *Great Michael*, the current state of fishing, or some other Newhaven-related topic, they wrote articles that were generally positive towards the ancient fishing village. While much of the writing was good-natured and intended to be complimentary, it was hard not to notice how many of the writers marginalized Newhaveners through the words they used to talk about the villagers' work and lives. Portrayed as simple, hard-working, lower class, matriarchal, and strange, a lot of the journalists treated the Newhaveners like zoo animals to be marveled at from a safe distance. Even though it seems like the writers intended their words favorably, their portrayal did not help Newhaveners in their daily work of negotiating business with people outside of Newhaven.[203] By 1958, this reporting

[203] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 45.

supported the Edinburgh Corporation's narrative that Newhaveners, who worked to bring fresh fish to Edinburgh's inhabitants but were too poor to help themselves, needed help bringing their living conditions up to modern standards from the city. Again, Newhaven enjoyed great favor in the Edinburgh print media's reporting, even if it contained hints of marginalization. This favor grew stronger once the fishing declined and the Redevelopment began.

The fishing crisis of the 1950s and 1960s received a lot of media attention. Writers worried about the fishing decline's effect on Newhaven's fisherfolk and what it meant for the availability and cost of seafood. Concern over Newhaven's future grew exponentially when the Redevelopment's compulsory purchase orders arrived in the villagers' mailboxes; some writers openly questioned the Council's motives in the process. Once the Redevelopment ended in 1978, and a new neighborhood now existed in the village's place, the media had to change its narrative because old Newhaven was no longer there. While other facets of Newhaven also were mentioned, four main themes about Newhaven have become commonplace since 1978: now a suburb, Newhaven was one of Edinburgh's many lost villages, and a famous one at that;[204] the City of Edinburgh Council destroyed the village through the Redevelopment;[205] Newhaven used to be the home of the fishwives;[206] and Newhaven is now a popular tourist attraction.[207]

Since the "famous old port" of Newhaven no longer existed after 1978, it officially became one of Edinburgh's lost villages that now served as a gentrified suburb

[204] "Urban Retreat," *Scotland on Sunday*.
[205] Vivienne Nicoll, "Hooked by an Old Cottage," *Evening News*, July 5, 1995.
[206] "From a Quiet," *Evening News*."
[207] "Newhaven's Claim to Be a World-Beater," *Evening News*, May 22, 1998.

of the capital city.[208] In fact, Newhaven frequently appeared in the *Evening News*' "Our Lost Villages" column, which spent just a few paragraphs reporting on the lost villages of Edinburgh in each issue.[209] This designation further explains why Malcolm Cant included Newhaven in his two-part series on Edinburgh's villages, as well as why there are so many other books about Edinburgh that include Newhaven as a lost community worthy of remembrance.[210] Not surprisingly, all of these works discuss the Redevelopment, and in some shape or form, they all place the blame for the destruction of the village on the City of Edinburgh Council.[211]

The real story of what happened in Newhaven is still either misunderstood or not known by the general public, but one factor has helped raise awareness of the events there: local media's use of increasingly candid language since 1978 about the Redevelopment's full effect on the people of Newhaven. While there were some moments of real candor in the 1980s,[212] in the 1990s journalists began to accuse the Council of domicide in Newhaven and lament the great injustice of the city's slum clearances. This kind of reporting continues today.[213]

When national and local media accounts refer to Newhaven, they usually include a short historical section about Newhaven for those unfamiliar with the former village, now neighborhood. The most commonly-mentioned fact about Newhaven is that it used to be home to the fishwives who walked the streets of Edinburgh selling fresh fish door-

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[208] Grimston, "Making Waves."
[209] Mann, "A Community That Won't Die."
[210] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 152.
[211] Joyce Wallace, *Traditions of Trinity and Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, L.T.D., 1985), 136.
[212] "The Fisherman's Friend," *The Scotsman*.
[213] Smith, "Telling Tales."

to-door.[214] The *Great Michael*, Newhaven's choirs, and the lighthouse also often get mentioned as being associated with Newhaven, but it is the fishwives that today's British folks are most likely to associate with the old fishing village. During the Edinburgh International Festival Parade in 1985, the *Evening News* interviewed Isabella Gillespie. Standing there wearing her great-grandmother's fishwife costume, Isabella described herself as a "Newhaven enthusiast," and she told the reporter that she worried that the incredible story of the fishwives was being forgotten.[215] Isabella had nothing to worry about though, because since 1985, Edinburgh's local media have mentioned the Newhaven fishwives so many times that the words "Newhaven" and "fishwife" are synonymous in today's Edinburgh.[216]

Newhaven has also developed a reputation as a fun tourist destination, often symbolized by its lighthouse. The *Newhaven Heritage Booklet* encouraged people to visit and live in Newhaven, aligning with the Council's vision for Newhaven and its narrative about Newhaven's spaces.[217] In 1998, the *Evening News* wrote that Newhaven was one of the most historic villages on the Scottish coast, and it printed pictures of its landscapes.[218] The designation as "historic" and a Scottish "heritage" center connects Newhaven to the national tourist industry.[219] Visitors to Newhaven Harbor today will find an old harbor full of pleasure craft and surrounded by nice restaurants,[220] a boardwalk, a hotel, and high-rise luxury apartment buildings.[221] The first account I read

[214] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 52.
[215] "Village Pride for Parade," *Evening News*, July 19, 1985.
[216] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.
[217] Brace et al, *Newhaven*, 13.
[218] "Newhaven's Claim," *Evening News*.
[219] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 8.
[220] "Flashback," *Evening News*, October 13, 1995.
[221] Sandra Dick, "Catching Up."

about Newhaven came from a 2010 edition of *Frommer's Scotland*, which talks about Newhaven's beautiful lighthouse, delicious pubs, long history, and rich culture. It also calls Newhaven "a place of memory," a very prescient observation about a neighborhood full of ancient places and former villagers who remember the old days.[222]

Living in Newhaven Now

During the centuries where Newhaven functioned as a busy fishing village, its inhabitants believed that true Newhaveners were born, lived, and died in Newhaven. If an outsider moved into the village and lived there for a long time, like even 20 or 30 years, that person was still an outsider. It was "a closed world." Now there is a lot more transition in Newhaven, as new individuals and families move in and out of the neighborhood much more frequently than during its village days. Newhaven is no longer the same "closed world," and in fact, the insular fishing village dynamic is no longer possible now due to the lack of fishing and fisher people, and the presence of unrelated, disparate people working in a variety of professions outside Newhaven.[223]

An increasingly close-knit community of neighbors united around common interests, not just by blood or profession, has taken the village community's place. While not nearly as strong or apparent, there is still a sense of community that has grown through the connection-building work of Newhaven Heritage, Victoria Primary School's leaders, Newhaven Parish Church's parishioners, and other people living in Newhaven.[224] Victoria Primary School and Newhaven Parish Church, in particular, assist these efforts due to the literal space they provide for communal activities; they are Newhaven the

[222] Danforth Prince, *Frommer's Scotland* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley Publishing Inc., 2010), 95.
[223] Morton, interview with author, May 15, 2014.
[224] Ibid.

neighborhood's primary sites of belonging. The Newhaven Parish Church's small restaurant, Newhaven Connections Café, is one of these places.

It was sitting in Newhaven Connections Café, a ministry of Newhaven Parish Church, where I conducted many of my interviews and learned a lot about Newhaven of old and today. The church's café serves a variety of foods for breakfast and lunch at very reasonable prices as a way to ensure the people of Newhaven, especially Newhaven's elderly who live on fixed pensions, are well-fed. In fact, the café prides itself on the concept of connection; it promotes and encourages all ages to get to know one another. That is why I often found the Newhaveners there at the café, laughing and reminiscing about the old village over lunch or a cup of tea. Wednesday mornings at 10:00, the church hosts The Haven, a gathering of the church's elderly members, many of whom are Newhaveners. The event is open to all, and attendees purchase treats from the café to enjoy while conversing with friends and neighbors until lunchtime.

Part of Newhaven's new social dynamic played out in the café. Several of this dissertation's sources met two or three days a week for tea there, and I had an open invitation to join them. While listening to stories about the way things used to be, as well as a lot of reminiscing about how it "was so much better back then," I noticed that some things have not changed. While the neighborhood has grown more open and less insular, Newhaveners still designate people as being outsiders or insiders. Maureen Macgregor belonged to the ladies' group I visited, and even though she had lived in Newhaven for decades, at one point in our conversation Nessie Carnie referred to Maureen as an "incomer," which prompted a huge outburst of laughter from the entire group. Maureen looked at me and said, "Well, I guess I'm not a Newhavener yet," but their laughter and

her smile showed that they accepted her, despite the "incomer" designation. Maureen told me later that after her husband died, "these ladies saved me." Newhaveners still value belonging, and they care for one another, despite, as Maureen also added, their "village mentality."[225]

Two newcomers to Newhaven I spoke with did not feel as welcomed as Maureen. Debbie Dickson provided home health care as an in-house nurse to people living in Newhaven. She told me that even though Newhaveners she cared for were nice to her, the "village is still very insular."[226] Amanda Wilson and her husband moved to Newhaven because they wanted a two-bedroom apartment with a garden and a place that allowed dogs. They bought one next door to Willie Flucker, who hosted a group of friends at his place every Wednesday morning. During one of these gatherings, I asked Amanda what she liked about Newhaven, and she said her neighbors. But there was a catch: Amanda and her husband said that while they felt welcome, only Willie and his friends spoke to them. The rest of the "older generation around here… they're very cliquey and want to know your business." Willie jokingly responded by saying, "We're all bastards!" to much laughter in the room.[227]

Another facet of today's Newhaven that survived the transition from village to neighborhood is the people of Newhaven's fierce defense of Newhaven as its own place, separate and distinct from anywhere else. After visiting ASDA out on the peninsula, I noticed a sign as I walked in that said, "Leith Community," meaning it was the Leith

[225] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

[226] Debbie Dickson and Mary Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

[227] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, John Stephenson, and Amanda Wilson, interview with author, Newhaven, March 25, 2015.

ASDA. When I asked the Newhaveners about this, they exploded in self-righteous indignation. First of all, they already knew about the sign, and it had bothered them since ASDA's opening. Second, I received a long explanation from all of them, not just one or two, about how this was Newhaven, not Leith or Edinburgh or even Granton. This was Newhaven, and that ASDA was located in Newhaven. Cathy Lighterness told us she had spoken to the manager twice about changing the sign to no avail, prompting kudos from her friends who rolled their eyes at the manager's indifference.[228] Yvonne Demaude told me that during her first month living in Newhaven, upon meeting a new friend, she said, "Oh, so you're from Leith," and the new friend replied, "NOOO, I'm not from Leith; I'm a Newhavener!" Yvonne never made that mistake again.[229]

For Newhaveners like Cathy Lighterness, George Hackland, Margaret McLean, and other former villagers; and for incomers like Maureen MacGregor and Yvonne Demaude, today's Newhaven remains "a special place" that is "still very much its own place."[230] Newhaveners that remain also value the memories imbued in its ancient spaces. In 2001, *Scotland on Sunday* summarized Newhaven's dynamic by writing the following: "As with most of Edinburgh's suburbs, Newhaven was once a separate village in its own right; but as the capital has expanded, Newhaven has become absorbed into the city. However, the inhabitants are very proud of their city, and would still see themselves as separate from the rest of Edinburgh."[231] The same is true today.

Chris and Margaret Garner moved to Newhaven in 1989, and they knew nothing about Newhaven or its storied past. But as the two Londoners got to know their

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[228] Bain et al, interview with author, March 18, 2015.
[229] Demaude, interview with author, March 25, 2015.
[230] Ibid.
[231] "Urban Retreat," *Scotland on Sunday*.

neighbors, they were pleasantly surprised to discover how "interesting a place" Newhaven was, even to incomers like themselves. Their love of Newhaven grew over time, and it was that connection with the former village and the Newhaveners that led Chris to begin capturing Newhaven's story before its people passed away.[232] They had a lot to say to anyone who would listen.

The Last Newhaveners Remember

This dissertation is based, in part, on how the Newhaveners remember their history and how they have responded to the events of the last century. I captured a host of opinions, thoughts, and observations on a large variety of topics during my time living in Newhaven. This is due to the fact that the former villagers get to together either on a weekly basis or even more often to spend time together, and the former village is always a topic of conversation. The Newhaveners enjoy thinking about the past and then talking, and often arguing, about it; this time spent looking back informs their responses to everything going on around them today. They often agree in their opinions, and just as often, they disagree on small points. Sometimes they even vehemently disagree on larger topics. These final thoughts from Newhaveners all flow from comparisons between the village and the neighborhood and can be divided into four main topical categories: Newhaven's uniqueness; the old days being better; fear over Newhaven's future; and disgust at Newhaven's spatial changes and their effect on Newhaven.

The former villagers were very proud of their heritage as Newhaveners. The village's long history, its multi-faceted culture, and its challenging profession informed the pride they felt. Newhaveners wanted to tell me about how unique their old village

[232] Chris Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

was before it changed. The danger the men faced at sea; the hardship the women endured running a business and the home while their husbands were away; the equality husbands and wives shared; their community's special institutions like the Society of Free Fishermen and Victoria Primary School; the choirs; and the *Great Michael*: one or more of these always came up when asking the Newhaveners about their history. They described Newhaven's past as being a "history of accomplishment and survival."[233] But more than any of these historical topics, most Newhaveners wanted to tell their listeners about their culture.

When George Hackland said that "the heart of Newhaven" was its community, he summarized the most endearing aspect of the village for his fellow Newhaveners.[234] The sense of belonging they felt and collective belief in supporting one another is what Newhaveners universally treasure and miss the most.[235] Cathy Lighterness described this as "when Newhaven was Newhaven."[236] The fact that most Newhaveners have known each other since childhood contributes to this dynamic, giving them a strong sense of connection with each other.[237] In those days, "everyone was your auntie," and they knew one another's business.[238]

Now these sentiments were quite nostalgic, and we can be sure that some Newhaveners were not supportive of their neighbors, or their friends, or even behaved well during their lifetimes. But what was so striking about this love of long-gone

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[233] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, May 21, 2014.

[234] Newhaven History Group, interview with Helen Clark, Newhaven, February 11, 1994.

[235] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

[236] Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 20, 2015.

[237] Ian Smith, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.

[238] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.

community was that all of them told me about it; in every interview I did the Newhaveners mentioned this facet of old Newhaven. They really believed that Newhaven's fisher people lived out the Golden Rule or their own version of it on a daily basis, and they wished that Newhaven the neighborhood lived by the same creed. George Hackland told Chris Garner that he had lived in Newhaven for 92 years. He used to know everybody, and now he "hardly recognize[ed] a soul" because Newhaven was full of strangers.[239] The Newhaveners wished people moving into the neighborhood would learn more about Newhaven and its past. Learning about Newhaven's history helped build community, but the Newhaveners wanted to see more incomers making an effort to learn about their new home. The lack of connection the older generation felt with the younger ones bothered and frustrated them, making them more nostalgic for days gone by.[240]

An enduring love of the old village usually accompanied the longing Newhaveners felt for the village's lost community spirit, hence the pervasive sentiment that the old days were better than the ones they live in now. Cathy Lighterness put it this way: "It's like saying you're British; no, well, we're Scottish. It's like saying you live in Edinburgh. Well, no, not really. You qualify where you live. Newhaven is the place I live, and Newhaven is where I come from. That's where my roots are. It's how it's made you, and the connections you've had in the village."[241] Her friends agreed, and they told me Newhaven in the past was better because the "community spirit" was so much stronger.[242]

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[239] Garner, "Newhaven: A Scottish Fishing Community," 149.
[240] Dickson and Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.
[241] Edwards et al, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[242] Catherine Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, May 30, 2014.

No Newhavener denied the presence of some form of community spirit that connected the neighbors together today, but there was a difference of opinion over how pervasive it was with incomers.[243] Newhaveners, and several of the incomers who spoke with me, credited Victoria Primary School and Newhaven Parish Church for helping promote at least some semblance of community.[244] The community choir's efforts[245] and Gala Day also came up as community-builders.[246] Everyone was adamant that community takes time to create because people need to develop trust in order to get comfortable with one another.[247] Newhaveners looked to themselves to lead the way because of their long association with Newhaven and one another. The main problem with that determination, in their opinion, was there were so few of them left. As Christine Ramsay Johnston said, "There's hardly any true Newhaveners left; now it's just a tourist town."[248] Mary Clement told me the same thing on a separate occasion.[249]

Longing for the "good 'ole days" obscured a truth about Newhaven's past that rarely came up in the Newhaveners' reminiscing: it was a hard life. Newhaven was a village filled with families struggling with poverty, and most of them worked in a dangerous, unpredictable profession. Depending on which narrative a person believes about Newhaven, it might even have been a slum. When the villagers left Newhaven, they faced stereotyping and marginalization due to their social class status as fisher

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[243] Dickson and Rutherford, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.
[244] Demaude, interview with author, March 25, 2015.
[245] Garner, interview with author, May 14, 2014.
[246] Nessie Nisbet, Mary Clement, Chris Garner, George Hackland, Catherine Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, May 14, 2014.
[247] Debbie Dickson, Catherine Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Netta Somerville, interview with author, Newhaven, March 24, 2015.
[248] Christine Ramsay Johnston, telephone interview with author, Boise, November 5, 2012.
[249] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.

people. Almost no Newhaveners were wealthy; even the families whose fathers served as ship captains usually had little income to spare.[250] The only major exception to the lack of consternation over having outside toilets and tiny houses with big families inside them came from Willie Flucker and his friends when they discussed life as fishermen at sea. Working on fishing vessels was so horrible that they disliked remembering those times, much less speaking about them. When they offered to talk with me about working as fishermen, speaking about it was difficult due to the trauma and hardship they endured while fishing on the high seas.[251]

A third common sentiment from Newhaveners was their fear of what Newhaven would become in the future. Many of them wondered how well future generations would take care of Newhaven. Would the former villagers and their way-of-life be remembered at all, and would future generations look upon them favorably? These questions bothered them. Newhaven Heritage Museum was supposed to protect their legacy, but it was gone. Local media could not be trusted to accurately report on Newhaven, so who would they turn to? Would the Wee Museum adequately teach others about Newhaven the village? This fear explains why so many former villagers are active in the Newhaven Heritage Association and the production of Gala Day; they want to pass their history and the memory of old Newhaven on to their neighbors and the neighborhood's children.

The former St. Andrews Church is emblematic of the Newhaveners' concern. In 1994, an indoor rock-climbing business bought the old building to much excitement across Edinburgh.[252] Called Alien Rock, visitors pay to climb walls and practice

[250] McAuley, interview with author, May 22, 2014.
[251] Flucker et al, interview with author, May 21, 2014.
[252] "Hard Rock Dare," *Evening News*, November 28, 1994.

rappelling while listening to contemporary music in the safety of harnesses dangling from the ceiling, and they can do so indoors all year long, protected from Scottish weather.[253] While none of the Newhaveners I spoke with had positive things to say about Alien Rock, their level of negativity varied on a scale ranging from dislike to it being outright sacrilege. Christine Johnston called it "a shame,"[254] while Mary Rutherford, Bettina Strang, and several women in the Connections Café group shared their horror at such a place existing in the space where they used to worship God. Bettina also mentioned that the ground used to be owned by the Society of Free Fishermen, further adding to the "abomination" of Alien Rock's presence in the old church.[255] Alien Rock is the perfect name for the business because it does not seem to belong in the former village, and it causes the Newhaveners to fear about what else will change in Newhaven and the places they treasure.

The last opinion they often shared will come as no surprise: they hate the northside/southside contrast and the blocking off of Newhaven Main Street, and they blame the City of Edinburgh Council for destroying the village in the Redevelopment. As Cathy shared, "the Main Street is no longer a main street."[256] With so few shops, traffic, and people, the bustling community that once lived there is gone. The southside apartment buildings have their terraces and porches out back overlooking the communal greenspace, so it is hard to tell if anyone is home for stopping by.[257] George Hackland

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[253] "Partners Seeking Climbing Profits," *The Scotsman*, March 3, 1995.
[254] Johnston and Johnston, interview with author, July 6, 2015.
[255] Marina Bain, Debbie Dickson, Cathy Lighterness, Mary Rutherford, and Bettina Strang, interview with author, Newhaven, March 18, 2015.
[256] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 24, 2015
[257] Lighterness, interview with author, March 18, 2015.

pointed out that with all the traffic going around Newhaven on Lindsay Road, Newhaven was very quiet, almost too quiet.[258]

Some Newhaveners blamed the spatial changes for "cutting off the life" of the village. Malcolm Cant summarized many of the Newhaveners' feelings about the issue this way: "Modern town planners, preoccupied with the idea of a traffic-free environment, have severed the artery at both ends, and wonder where the pulse has gone."[259] None of the Newhaveners liked Newhaven's current spatial arrangement, but they had learned to live with it. Some were even trying to make the best of it. I saw this in my hundreds of walks through the neighborhood during my trips to Scotland in 2014, 2015, and 2017.

As victims of domicide who lost the only community they had ever known, the Newhaveners seemed to be telling the truth when they said they were making the best of the situation. Some still felt angry about how the Council treated them, and like George Hackland shared, many expressed regret for not having done more to fight against the reconstruction of Newhaven. That said, almost all of the men and women I interviewed were actively participating in one or more of Newhaven the neighborhood's sites of belonging, like raising awareness through Newhaven Heritage, serving at the The Haven at Newhaven Parish Church, or volunteering at Victoria Primary School. They were engaged in recreating a new community for themselves in Newhaven's old spaces, and it was working.

[258] George Hackland, interview with John Mackie, Newhaven, December 8, 1993.
[259] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 169.

A Walk Through Newhaven Today

Newhaven the neighborhood is very different from the old fishing village that preceded it, but it is still a nice place to visit.[260] When pedestrians walking along the sidewalk next to Lindsay Road approach Newhaven from the east, they can see where Lindsay Road bends to the right, or to the north, taking the capital city's busy traffic around old Newhaven's northern side. The sidewalk, though, splits in two like a "V" shape, with the left side going due west (straight ahead) and becoming the sidewalk along Annfield; and the right side curving to the right as it mirrors Lindsay Road. At the point where the sidewalk splits, the sidewalk blocks any cars on Lindsay Road from driving straight ahead onto Annfield Street, which lies on the other side of the sidewalk.

At its eastern end, Annfield Street is a closed off cul-de-sac now, although passersby can see how it used to merge onto Lindsay Road before the sidewalk blocked it off because of the houses built along it. About 100 feet after the "V" in the sidewalk, a short street, not even long enough to be a driveway, cuts across north-to-south connecting Annfield and Lindsay, creating a small triangle which contains a greenspace with trees. This short road is the beginning of Great Michael Rise, the only entrance for motorized traffic into the former village from the north, east, or west. It is not easy for drivers to make their way into Newhaven. They have to be looking for Newhaven in order to find their way into it.

Standing at the entrance to Newhaven and looking north across the street, pedestrians see ASDA,[261] sitting on the southern portion of the Western Harbour

[260] Please refer to Appendix A, Map 4 for this section.

[261] Campbellsville, Kentucky, was my permanent residence when I left for two months to do my research in Newhaven in 2014. The Campbellsville Walmart was one mile from my house. I never imagined another one would sit less than a mile from my flat while I lived in Scotland.

peninsula where the Halley (the shoreline in front of Annfield) used to be; and several multi-story luxury apartment buildings.[262] ASDA is very busy, with cars and buses coming and going. Newhaven the village used to have about 30 different businesses, but of the ones that survived the Redevelopment, almost none of them could compete with the superstore once it located in Newhaven in December 2008.[263] ASDA has become Newhaven the neighborhood's all-in-one store, and while several of the Newhaveners miss "the personal service of small local shops,"[264] most of them have accepted the store because of its low prices and 24-hour convenience.[265] Interestingly enough, the store has nautical-themed flags out front as a nod to Newhaven and its location in a former fishing village.[266]

Turning back to old Newhaven and looking due west, pedestrians see Annfield Street stretching out in front of them.[267] Guarding the entrance to Newhaven there at Annfield is Great Michael Rise and Victoria Primary School. As people walk down the street, they immediately see the replica of the *Great Michael*'s famous anchor on their left. The School towers over them on their right, full of the sounds of school children. The Wee Museum sits inside, quietly preserving Newhaven's history in small displays and pointing visitors to days gone by. A car drives by every now and then, making a lot of noise on the cobbled pavement, but once it passes, the street is quiet again. The sound

[262] Kitty Banyards and Esther Liston, interview with Sarah Dyer, Newhaven, November 1993

[263] Dickson et al, interview with author, March 17, 2015.

[264] "Ancient Blended with the Modern," *Evening News*.

[265] Flucker et al, interview with author, March 25, 2015.

[266] Clement, interview with author, May 19, 2014.

[267] Annfield Street and Newhaven Main Street are the same physical street but have different names depending on which side of the neighborhood a person is on. Annfield sits to the east of the Whale Brae, and Main Street sits to the west.

of heavy traffic on Lindsey Road fills the air. Newhaven feels forgotten, almost like it does not belong in this space anymore.

As pedestrians continue walking down the street, they pass the Whale Brae (the name of the section of Newhaven Road going up the hill) going south towards Edinburgh and cross over onto Newhaven Main Street proper. From here, the effects of the Redevelopment are quite apparent. The southside is lined with three-story apartment buildings with no architectural flair. Their plain windows, some empty and others decorated by their owners, and their simple blue garage doors face the northside all day long. A striking feature of the southside is the presence of City of Edinburgh Council signs telling people what to do; every single garage had a sign that said "No Parking" with a Council symbol on it. Other Edinburgh signs reminded people to keep their dogs on leashes or listed the names of the buildings. Walking down the street and being inundated with City of Edinburgh Council signs, the message was clear: this neighborhood belongs to Edinburgh, and its Council makes the rules here. The capital city's narrative still contests the Newhavener' one for mastery over Newhaven's spaces.

The northside is much more visually appealing. Lined with Flemish-style homes and closes running in between them, the northern half of Main Street looks like what visitors expect Newhaven to look like. Most of the homes are white, but several of the owners have painted their doors bright colors that "pop" when people pass by. The spatial design suggests the presence of something different from what exists today. It also appears to be older and related to the sea, reminiscent of a nautical theme, even to the untrained eye. People living on the northside have their cars parked out on the street, for there are no garages.

When pedestrians walking down Main Street arrive at Fishmarket Square, they walk into a big paved courtyard full of parking spots and two of Newhaven's businesses, a fish market and the Harbour Inn, a pub. The Square used to be called St. Andrews Square because it is located right next to St. Andrews Church, but after the Redevelopment, the city planners changed the name to Fishmarket Square because it sits across the street from the old Fishmarket building on the Harbor. Fishmarket Square is the only other "central open space" in Newhaven besides Victoria Primary School's playground, which is not open to the public; Lindsay & Partners meant for the Square to take the place of Fisherman's Park.[268]

The last two blocks on the western end of Main Street are the quietest of all, full of private residences except for a local bistro at the very end of the street. To the right, sitting on the northside, is the former Fisherman's Hall. After the Society of Free Fishermen closed in 1989, they sold their building to a developer who turned it into apartments.[269] The Society's crest still rests on top of the entrance over the door into the building. When walking past Fisherman's Hall and the other homes along the street, Main Street abruptly ends in a sidewalk, barring vehicular traffic from accessing a large roundabout that connects Lindsay Road with Starbank Road on the western side and Craighall Road on the southern one.

Turning left at the roundabout, Craighall Road heads south into Trinity, going "up the cut" as it has for almost two hundred years. Newhaven Parish Church is there, still serving as Newhaven's place of worship. The front half of the building is now full of apartments, while the church itself and Connections Café are in the back. Having

[268] Holmes, "Character Appraisal," 10.
[269] Johnston and Johnston, interview with author, July 6, 2015.

apartments in their former worship space really bothers Newhaveners; more than one told me it was sacrilegious.[270] If visitors walk into the café, they will find a bustling, busy restaurant full of volunteers serving an older clientele. Here, at last, people can find Newhaveners reminiscing and talking about the old days. It is one of the only public social spaces left where they can do so. The name of the café is the church's goal for its patrons. The church wants them to feel connections to God, the neighborhood, and their community.[271]

Leaving Newhaven Parish Church by turning right onto Craighall Road, pedestrians walk down into heavy traffic going through the roundabout. By making a right and proceeding east onto Lindsay Road, it is a short walk up to the former St. Andrews (now Alien Rock) on the right and Newhaven Harbor on the left. Having the big sign of a rock-climbing business over the doors of an old church produces a visual clash of old versus contemporary. It tells people that the old ways are gone, and the new ones are here to stay. Alien Rock would have no place in a fishing village, but since Newhaven is a tourist attraction now, it fits perfectly.

The Harbor is full of private boats, ships, and a couple small yachts; all but one of them sail for pleasure.[272] The Harbor belongs to Forth Ports, so the power dynamic of Forth Ports controlling Newhaven's ships and its harbor, never a good one for the Newhaveners, has not changed.[273] Local Newhavener Davy Brand's ship, the *LH 29*, is docked right by the slip, the only ship that catches seafood.[274] The ship is the last link to

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[270] Ibid.
[271] Demaude, interview with author, March 25, 2015.
[272] Please refer to Appendix C, Picture 9.
[273] Willie Flucker, Chris Garner, Jock Robb, Ian Smith, and John Stephenson, interview with author, Newhaven, June 11, 2014.
[274] Lighterness, interview with author, May 30, 2014.

the hundreds of fishing boats that used to fish out of Newhaven and land their catches there to sell at the Fishmarket.

Walking into the Harbor area along the slip towards the lighthouse, a person sees the Fishmarket, which has two upscale seafood restaurants in it, as well as a fishmonger that sells a variety of seafood imported from all over Scotland. Standing at the lighthouse, pedestrians can see Western Harbour stretching out northeast of them. Tall sky-rise apartment buildings dominate the skyline, and the huge fitness center is located just past Brewer's Fayre restaurant and a small hotel. Several residential buildings were obviously designed to fit into a fishing village; the Newhaven lighthouse is suggested in their architecture. The street going in and out of the peninsula is very busy because so many people live on the reclaimed land.

By walking over to the Peacock Inn, pedestrians nearly complete the full circle of walking around old Newhaven. When I visited the Peacock for a fish dinner in 2014, I walked in and my jaw dropped because a huge picture of the *Reliance* being towed through Newhaven in 1928 hung on one of the walls. I asked the bartender if he knew anything about the old ship; he did not. Sitting in the Peacock under a picture of the *Reliance* while having Newhaven's traditional fare for supper, I found myself thinking about all I had learned about Newhaven. It is nearly impossible not to reminisce about the old days while visiting Newhaven, or for newcomers to wonder about what happened here.

Even though Newhaven is now a modern neighborhood, it remains a place of memory. Markers that point to the past fill Newhaven's spaces. Some are obvious, while others are more subtle. The *Great Michael* anchor replica; the Flemish outdoor staircases

of the northside's houses; the presence of closes between homes; the ancient remains of St. Mary and St. James Chapel; the Whale Brae; and Victoria Primary School: these and other indicators look out of place in a modern neighborhood, yet they serve as visual reminders of the space's former occupants and their special culture. The Harbour Inn has one of the most powerful markers, a large sign next to its entrance that sits outside facing Fishmarket Square. The sign the Harbor Inn owners erected right after it opened up for business in 2001 warns readers that they are in a special place with a long history. The text of the sign is as follows:

> "Newhaven, a village on the Firth of Forth, a couple miles north of Edinburgh. It has an ancient naval and fishing tradition and was known as Novus Portus de Leith – New Haven. King James IV launched his mighty "Great Michael" here in 1511. The village was a close-knit fishing community but the old ways are fading. An ancient prophecy has it: 'When the willowbank tree withers away, the fishing trade shall also decay.'"

Pictures like the photo of the *Reliance* hanging in the Peacock Inn and the plethora of beach-related photos on the walls of the Old Chain Pier Pub invite onlookers to go back in time and remember the old fishing village and its fisher people.

Remembrance benches also fill the entire neighborhood. In a city that encourages walking as much as Edinburgh does, benches matter, and a large of number of them dot Newhaven's landscape. There are numerous local media accounts over the years of benches being donated to honor Newhaveners. One was dedicated in 1977 to the Fisherwomen's Choir founder Mrs. Marion Ritchie, although it is no longer there.[275] The sidewalk between Lindsay Road and Newhaven Harbor is lined with memorial benches

[275] F.S., "Bench Dedicated to Fisherwomen's Choir Conductor," *Evening News*, August 20, 1977.

installed in 2006, all of them dedicated to Newhaveners who contributed to the former village in some special or extraordinary way.[276]

The last crucial marker that needs mentioning is the Newhaveners themselves. When people walk through Newhaven, they meet the people living there. Some of them are former villagers who were able to get back into Newhaven after the Clearances forced most of them out. These men and women have a lot of memories about Newhaven accompanied by strong opinions about what they remember. Keeping in mind our objective framework, and the need to test the stories they shared, we can learn a lot from Newhaveners. Yvonne Demaude told me that many of them are at an age where "they remember the old days more than the new," and that was very true of my experience during my time there.[277] Like the physical and spatial markers that surround them, Newhaveners also keep the memory of old Newhaven alive by their presence in the neighborhood, their advocacy in Newhaven Heritage, and their community-building efforts. Malcolm Cant summarized this dynamic beautifully when he wrote: "The cycle has been broken. As newcomers establish their own way-of-life, the old order remains only in the minds of the older inhabitants."[278] Newhaven the fishing village might be long gone, but because of its many historical markers and the efforts of Newhaveners themselves, it is not forgotten, and its memory is being passed down to future generations.

[276] "George's Boost for Newhaven: New Community Facilities for Edinburgh's Ancient Harbour," *Edinburgh Times*, Issue 243 (March 2004), 17.
[277] Demaude, interview with author, March 25, 2015.
[278] Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh,* 152.

Conclusion

In February 1983, *The Scotsman* published an article about authentic Newhaven fishwife costumes being sold for auction. When the author referred to Newhaven, he wrote, "in the fishing village of Newhaven, now part of the city."[279] He was halfway correct. Newhaven was no longer a fishing village; perhaps if he had referred to it as "the former fishing village of Newhaven," the author would have been accurate. The subject matter of the article itself suggested the need for a revision to his phraseology: the fishwife costumes were on sale because they were no longer needed or in use. The author was right about the second part, however. Newhaven had become a part of the city of Edinburgh, despite Newhaveners' strong determination to prevent such a change, and even though Newhaveners had some success in defining the new neighborhood's culture, the Edinburgh Town Council had taken control over its spaces. After the Redevelopment, hundreds of new families moved into the area who had no previous connection with Newhaven, fishing, or the former villagers.

Newhaven transitioned from being an insular fishing village on the Firth of Forth, just north of Edinburgh, to an attractive residential neighborhood within the capital city. Newhaven's new ethos, comprised of former villagers and recently-arrived residents, developed over time as the people of Newhaven worked to create new collective identities for themselves, beginning with the work of the Newhaven District and Community Association to resurrect Gala Day, a festival distinct to Newhaven. The Newhaveners ensured that this new culture would be built upon the memories of the old one, and they accomplished this goal by using the influence of the neighborhood's

[279] "Costumes Go to Auction," *The Scotsman*, February 9, 1983.

remaining sites of belonging, like Victoria Primary School, Newhaven Parish Church, and the Newhaven Heritage Museum, to aid them.

The Society of Free Fishermen, and their livelihood of fishing, did not survive the transformation of Newhaven, and in time, neither did the Newhaven Heritage Museum. However, the goal of preserving the memory of Newhaven's history and passing it down to later generations endured through the Newhaveners, the work of Newhaven Heritage, and the Museum of Edinburgh's commitment to fund and staff the Wee Museum. The new neighborhood community accomplished this goal in spite of the City of Edinburgh Council's plans for Newhaven. After the Redevelopment, the Council won the battle of contesting narratives and had finally remade Newhaven into a modern neighborhood worthy of the capital city. As the Council revealed in 2006, the next step in its plans was to rebrand Newhaven as a fun tourist site for visitors. So long as the neighbors' emphasis on Newhaven's unique culture did not get in the way of the Council's rebranding, Edinburgh's leaders allowed Newhaven the neighborhood to retain some of its traditional charm.

Fortunately for those who love the past, spatially and visually the neighborhood's historical markers and Flemish-style architecture continue to point to a previous age, something different and other from what exists in daily life today. Like everyone else, Newhaveners worry that if their past is forgotten, it has lost its meaning, but they have nothing to fear.[280] The preservation of Newhaven's memory continues through many means: the passing on of its history to Victoria Primary School's students; the Wee Museum's visitors; Newhaven Heritage's presentations; the celebration of Gala Day; the

[280] Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

Newhaveners' conversations about the past with anyone who will listen; this dissertation; and a variety of other ways not listed here. Newhaven the village is gone, but its memory lives on in Newhaven the neighborhood's people, places, and local culture.

# Conclusion

## "A Gesture to the Past, Continued"[1]

### What We Have Learned

I have laid out the long history of Newhaven, Scotland, and the people who lived in it for over five centuries until the present time. At the center of this story is Newhaven's transformation from a village into a neighborhood. My research explored the reasons behind the transformation, asking questions about why this famous ancient fishing village, separate and different from the places around it, became one of many modern neighborhoods and tourist attractions within the City of Edinburgh. How did a community 400 years in the making transition into something so completely different within its own spaces in less than 50 years?

The answer to this question is complicated and involves the powerful combination of four decline-inducing forces and two community-destroying events. Technological advances in fishing, over-fishing, extreme pollution, and generational disinterest in perpetuating the Newhavener way-of-life all instigated Newhaven's twilight by putting it on a path to decline beginning around 1928, the year the village launched the *Reliance*, its last home-built fishing vessel. Three decades later, right as fishing entered its worst economic period in several generations, the City of Edinburgh Council decided to redevelop the entire village by replacing all of its houses and not allowing many of the displaced Newhaveners to return to their former village. At the height of the Redevelopment, the Kirk of the Scottish Presbyterian Church decided in 1974 to merge Newhaven's two churches into one congregation, destroying a significant site of

[1] Meg Garner, interview with author, Newhaven, May 24, 2014.

belonging precisely at the time Newhaveners needed their community-supporting spaces the most. All six of these factors, which were political, economic, social, and environmental pressures beyond the villagers' control, forced the conversion of Newhaven the old fishing village into Newhaven the modern neighborhood, and they explain why I described Newhaven's story as being one primarily about decline, domicide, and transformation.

Newhaven began in 1504 with a big purpose, to build King James IV the greatest warship ever to set sail on the high seas, but after the King launched the *Great Michael*, his "New Haven" quickly descended into obscurity when its people turned to the sea for their profession as a small fishing village on the Firth of Forth. In the centuries that followed, the people of Newhaven forged a new community for themselves, a unique culture and daily life centered around the demands of fishing that combined local Scottish customs with the Flemish and Dutch influences of their immigrant ancestors. There are dozens of fishing villages along the Scottish coast, yet Newhaven rose to prominence as the most famous of them all. Six aspects of Newhaven's history and culture contributed to the small village's fame: the launching of the *Great Michael*, fishing as a way-of-life; Newhaven's fish dinners; its fresh oysters; its fishwives and their work selling fresh fish on the streets of Edinburgh; and its fisherwomen's choirs performances around Europe. By 1928, the year Newhavener James Ramsay launched his fishing vessel, the *Reliance*, the last ship to ever be launched in the village, Newhaven reached the zenith of its existence, both economically and socially.

As Part 1: The Way It Was explained in detail, while Newhaven shared in the core values common to other fishing villages, like emphasizing belonging, order, and

hard work, Newhaven's special cultural attributes produced a multi-faceted worldview and distinct way-of-life that differentiated it from other fishing villages around the Firth of Forth, forming the basis of the Newhavener narrative over its own spaces. The fisher men of Newhaven poured out their physical strength working on the dangerous and unpredictable waters around Scotland in order to catch fish, spending way more time out at sea with each other than on land with their families and friends. Newhaven's fisher women performed all the land-based tasks fishing required while running a household and traversing Edinburgh on foot selling fresh fish door-to-door, becoming the well-known symbol of Newhaven to the outside world. Fisher children did what they could to contribute to the family's success, and they prepared to take their parents' places once they were either deceased or no longer able to work. Together, generations of Newhavener families contributed to the creation of Newhaven's collective culture and identity, each in his or her own individual way.

By 1928, Newhaven the village contained a rich, multi-faceted culture of insular fisher people and a community full of sites of belonging that simultaneously shaped, maintained, and protected Newhaven's way-of-life. They held strong religious beliefs that blended Christianity and superstition, giving them certainty and order amidst fishing's unpredictability and bad behavior in their ranks. Village life centered on the virtue of belonging: Newhaveners belonged to a variety of groups and institutions, like families, fishing vessels, churches, choirs, the Society of Free Fishermen, Victoria Primary School, temperance organizations, sports teams, and other micro-communities within Newhaven. The villagers needed these sites of belonging to encourage and empower them as they faced the constant travails of the fishing life and stereotyping and

marginalization by outsiders. Unfortunately, Newhaven's tight-knit community and its many institutions would not be strong enough to resist the Edinburgh Town Council's determination to redevelop the village.

When the Council launched the Redevelopment in 1958 as a part of its city-wide urban renewal efforts, Newhaven was already in decline, and its time as a fishing village was limited. For entirely human-made reasons, the Firth of Forth no longer had the fish required to support the large fishing industry along the Firth's coast. Greedy and unethical fishermen using the latest technology to harvest immature herring destroyed the next generation of fish, and pouring millions of gallons of Edinburgh's sewage waste into the Forth's water for over a century poisoned the ecosystem, causing fish that remained to move to cleaner waters further out beyond the reach of Newhaven's traditional inshore yawls. When fishing failed to provide financially for Newhaven's fisher families, the next generation of Newhaveners, having seen how families in other professions lived during the World War II evacuation of Newhaven's and Edinburgh's children, turned to non-fishing occupations for work, with many working on land for the first time in their family's history. Only Esther Liston remained as a working fishwife.

After being concerned about Newhaven's substandard conditions and general state of disrepair for several decades, the Edinburgh Town Council decided to address the situation at the worst possible time for the struggling people of Newhaven. By implementing the Newhaven Pattern as its process for the Redevelopment, the Council destroyed a long-standing group of neighbors and commit domicide among Newhaven's people, replacing their narrative with one of its own. The last step in the Newhaven Pattern, not allowing most of Newhaven's former residents to move back into the new

Council-owned houses and filling the homes with outsiders instead, was the crucial moment when Newhaven the village ceased to exist and Newhaven the neighborhood was born.

The new disparate collection of people living in Newhaven's four blocks were faced with a choice: live separate lives in the individualistic, unconnected way that so many people today have chosen to live, or do the risky work of building relationships with neighbors and creating a community. Led by the remnant of former villagers who found a way to get back into Newhaven, the new neighbors chose the latter, and together, they fashioned a neighborhood around Newhaven's new dynamic of mostly unrelated people in various professions living in close quarters with one another. The transformation from village to neighborhood was complete.

Final Thoughts and Analysis

Newhaven has a rich history that illuminates a variety of academic disciplines and interesting topics. This was one of the reasons why I was drawn to research Newhaven. Generalizations about fishing villages and the forces at work within them and acting upon them from outside do not serve historians well when analyzing fisher peoples. Only by using specific, distinctly-local "interpretations firmly rooted in the variety of the fishing experience" can we find truths about fishing life and life in general, and Newhaven's story provides that.[2] In the course of my work, I learned that the number six appeared at important times in Newhaven's past: I identified six aspects of Newhaven's history and culture that contributed to its fame, and there was a combination of six forces and events that forced the village's conversion into a neighborhood. With a nod towards this pattern,

[2] Paul Thompson, Tony Walley, and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1983), 6.

I will close with six key thoughts about the twilight of Newhaven and what we can learn from it.

First of all, our most important takeaway relates to power and domicide: as this dissertation has shown, small, isolated communities like Newhaven are "especially vulnerable to extinction." Newhaven joins the list of hundreds of other places around the world that were unjustly cleared away by powerful outside forces due to their not having the political agency necessary to successfully resist clearance efforts. One key observation here is that these places were intentionally destroyed; they did not just slowly decline over time and disappear.[3] As Jane Jacobs pointed out, many areas identified as slums by those in power are actually "stable, low-rent area[s]" that are doing just fine.[4]

Newhaven was already declining, but it had been through bad times before and endured. The people living there were hard working, law-abiding citizens trying to provide for themselves and their families. So why did the Edinburgh Town Council feel the need to break up the entire community? We do not know what would have happened had the Council handled the Redevelopment in a more ethical manner. Maybe Newhaven would have rebounded, and maybe its people would have persevered just as the villagers had for centuries by redeploying their fishing skills in other professions. Either way, small communities and their defenders can learn from Newhaven's example: they need to be on guard against the elite and powerful who might use some form of the Newhaven Pattern to get rid of them, and when the threat of domicide emerges, they must unite

[3] J. Douglas Porteous and Sandra E. Smith, *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 10-11.

[4] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 272.

together in order to be able to effectively resist. Also, and just as importantly, the men and women who serve in our governing authorities must learn to act humanely.

Domicide is so traumatic and awful that it warrants a second observation. At the core of most fishing villages is the importance of belonging. Faced with a world outside the village where outsiders make fishers believe they do not belong, Newhaven's fisher people created micro-communities within Newhaven where they could belong, connecting and relating with one another. These connections forged their identities, both individually and collectively, and they gave the villagers the emotional strength they needed to continue living the fishing life. After listening to Willie Flucker and his best friends talk about life on the trawlers, no one I know would want to choose to be a fisher person in Newhaven before 1928, myself included.

When the Council used the Redevelopment to remove the Newhaveners from their own spaces, they did not just lose their homes; they also lost "social networks and a sense of belonging to a community [in addition] to the physical environment that supports it."[5] The disorientation that domicide-induced trauma causes explains why its victims experience a plethora of reactions: "denial that such a thing could happen; paralysis and indecision; consternation but defeatism that it cannot be stopped; determination to resist but being unable to do so because of lack of information; and full-on resistance by any legal means necessary."[6] Domicide is hell, and that explains why the Newhaveners who are left still harbor such resentment towards the City of Edinburgh Council and 121 George Street. For the Newhaveners, Newhaven was more than just a

[5] Ibid., 150.
[6] Ibid., 201.

space to live in; it was a place with significant purpose and meaning.[7] They lost their special village and the community they loved prematurely, long before it would have ceased to exist on its own. Will there be justice for Newhaven and other small places around the world that suffered the same fate?

A third thought for us has to do with space and place. Newhaven the village was a community with a common sense of purpose and connection. Over the course of four and a half centuries, the Newhaveners imbued all of Newhaven's spaces with deeply personal experience and meaning. Sites of belonging like the churches and the Society of Free Fishermen provided "regular activities and rhythms" for the Newhaveners, spaces where they could grow their connectedness and identity.[8] Newhavener identity was "intensely localized," so when the Redevelopment fundamentally altered Newhaven, the Newhaveners had to push through the trauma and reorient everything in their lives.[9]

The neighborhood replaced the village, and it was a shared space where people happened to live together. While the new neighbors did build a form of community through the efforts of Newhaven Heritage and Gala Day, the connections between everyone living in Newhaven seemed weak in comparison to the relationships of the fisher people who proceeded them. City neighborhoods do not "supply for their people an artificial town or village life," as evidenced by the Newhaveners' longing for the old days and their efforts to continue some form of community within Newhaven the neighborhood today.[10] Cathy Lighterness said they did this because they still felt a

[7] Henri LeFebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden: Blackwell Publisher Inc., 2000).
[8] Karen Till, "Wounded Cities," *Political Geography* 31 (2012): 10.
[9] Thompson, *Living the Fishing*, 250.
[10] Jacobs, *Death and Life*, 117.

"sense of belonging to each other," even after all these years.[11] The Newhaveners' connectedness with their old village also explains why they displayed such pride when they spoke about Newhaven and its past.

The fourth piece of analysis relates to class. Technological advancement and the industrialization of fishing did not just contribute to Newhaven's decline; its elimination of the share system also transformed Newhaven's social relations by hugely increasing class division and barriers between families of various financial means. The share system gave Newhaven's fishermen a unity of purpose that went with them beyond their fishing vessels and the catches they landed. They were "all in it together," a similar dynamic to war veterans' bonds with each other. When wage-earning replaced the share system, the fishermen lost their vested interest in the collective good of their crew, and one has to wonder if this contributed to the glaring lack of collective resistance put up by the Newhaveners during the redevelopment period.

The Society of Free Fishermen was a fraternal order based on the concept that unifying as a community benefited everyone. It had successfully protected Newhavener fishermen's interests for generations, from fighting to protect the Forth's oyster beds to weakening the influence of the trawlers, so it had experience resisting the outside forces Newhaven constantly faced. In a village devoted to the virtue of supporting one another and providing a place of belonging, it is surprising that there were so few examples of resistance to the Redevelopment, especially at the community level. I suspect that the removal of the share system from Newhaven's economy affected the fisher families psychologically, unconsciously weakening the communal bond they felt with one another

[11] Newhaven History Group, interview with Jesse Mackay, Newhaven, March 4, 1994.

and increasing their quickness to act in their own interests instead of the community as a whole.

Frank Ferri's, George Hackland's, and Esther Liston's success at getting back into the reconstructed Newhaven are proof of this dynamic. They knew how wield political influence effectively in a way that made the Council give in to their demands. Frank helped about 30 of his neighbors get back into the reconstructed Annfield homes, while George helped three of his neighbors do the same on Main Street. Both were trying to help themselves and any of their neighbors along the way, but their resistance was not done on behalf of the village as a collective whole. However, the villagers could have used their examples as models for community-wide resistance, and it might have lessened the displacement of so many Newhaveners during the Redevelopment. Miles Glendinning wrote that the men and women who figured out how to "exploit power relations" on the Council were the ones who made it through Edinburgh's slum clearances with the best outcomes.[12]

For a fifth observation, gender empowerment explains the work of the fishwives. They captured the imagination of many people and mitigated the marginalization the fisher families faced by the outside world. Because the fishwives were so unusual and impressive to their contemporaries, it is no surprise that out of all of Newhaven's facets, they were the ones who rose to the status of an international icon. The fishwives brought the fish their men caught to the doors of their customers, providing home delivery centuries before customers came to expect it as a service included in the price. With men

[12] Miles Glendinning, "Housing and Suburbanization in the Early and Mid-20th Century," in *Edinburgh: Making of a Capital City*, eds. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 178.

gone most of the time, the women of Newhaven filled the power gap left by their husbands by making decisions in all spheres of life, enjoying a level of empowerment and equality that few other Scottish women enjoyed at that time and inviting accusations of "matriarchy" because of it. In the fishwives' precious free time, many of them sang in one of Newhaven's choirs while wearing their "ken-speckle" costumes, and throughout the twentieth century, the choirs toured nationally and internationally, raising awareness of Newhaven and promoting understanding about its way-of-life.[13]

The popularity of the fishwives and their iconic status explain their presence in all things related to Newhaven's history. Women and little girls wear fishwife costumes at major Newhaven events, like Gala Day and other neighborhood festivals. The materials put out by the Newhaven Heritage Museum and Newhaven Heritage Association contain prominent pictures of fishwives in their full multi-colored costumes. Their reputation also tells us why the women who own a fishwife costume value it so much, especially if it was handed down from one of their family members. It is an important historical artifact that serves as a great reminder of the strength and power of Newhaven's fisher women.

The final thought relates to memory. The Newhaveners fear that old Newhaven will be forgotten. The work of Newhaven Heritage through Gala Day and the efforts of the Museum of Edinburgh to sponsor the Wee Museum are helping to protect Newhaven's legacy for future generations to enjoy, but the villagers still worry about how they will be remembered. With their concern in mind, I found it quite ironic that the City of Edinburgh Council's narrative for Newhaven has changed so dramatically. In

[13] Russell, "How is Newhaven?," 628.

1958, the Council argued that Newhaven needed outside help to modernize itself because as fisher people, the villagers did not have the capacity to do the work on their own; it was a patronizing view resulting from the Newhaveners' marginalization. Today, the Council's advertising about Newhaven describes it as representing the best of our society because of its simplicity, purity, and old ways. Newhaven is now a center for heritage where tourists can escape from the demands of modern living and go back to a simpler time.

The heritage movement our culture enjoys by trying to find meaning in past places, fixed in memory and myth, is a direct result of the levels of mobility and movement in our globalized world. Moderns possess a strong "desire for fixity and for security of identity" in the midst of fast-paced worldwide change.[14] Because we fear that change through globalization and technology is causing us to lose our connection with the past, it is common for people to turn to heritage as a means of preserving valuable "local objects, meanings and expressions," like Newhaven, its people, and its rich culture.[15] We see the past as representing the true "character" of a place, as though the past is "unspoilt" by today's forces of globalization.[16] This facet of modern life explains why Newhaveners talk so fondly about a seemingly perfect past, yet their recollections coexist with other equally-true memories of the adversity, poverty, and loss of their childhoods in Newhaven the village.[17]

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[14] Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," *Marxism Today* (June 1991): 26.

[15] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 173.

[16] Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Journal Workshop*, No. 39 (Spring, 1995): 183.

[17] Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage*, 215.

The "localism of fishing villages" is appealing in a globalized, modern society where the small places of the world seem to be disappearing with increased frequency, hence the Scottish government's promotion of heritage tourism, a huge boon to local economies like Newhaven's.[18] It attracted me to Newhaven. It also gave me the idea for this dissertation.

I was talking on the phone with Christine Ramsay Johnston on November 5, 2012. I called her because she is my grandmother, and I wanted to ask her about the *Reliance*, her father's ship. During our conversation, she said something that I did not understand: "Of course, there's hardly any true Newhaveners left; now it's just a tourist town." That comment piqued my interest in her old village. I wanted to know why she said Newhaven had become a tourist town with very few original Newhaveners living in it, and if it was true. Her comment to me is also why I went to Newhaven to see her ancestral home for myself, and as luck would have it, I just happened to be there on Gala Day.

Returning to Gala Day 2014

The annual Gala Day celebration, with its costumes, songs, food, and stories, perfectly illustrates Newhaven's transition from village to neighborhood. As a "gesture to the past," today's new Newhaveners commemorate their history by coming together in a show of unity that honors their customs, traditions, and times gone by. Victoria Primary School Headmaster Laura Thomson and Newhaven Heritage member Fraser Miller made it clear that the past was in danger of being lost, and Gala Day provides a way for the community to preserve its heritage by collectively remembering how

[18] Ibid., 214.

Newhaven got to this point and became what it is, a nice, modern neighborhood in Scotland's capital city. The importance of remembering is why Gala Day's annual themes revolve around fishing, specifically the fishermen and fishwives; Newhaven culture, music, food, drink, and daily life; and significant events in Newhaven's past.

It is quite appropriate, then, that after a 15-year hiatus, Newhaveners resurrected Gala Day celebration in 2010 to help save Victoria Primary School from being closed by the City of Edinburgh Council. Cathy Lighterness, who serves on the Gala's planning committee, said that her committee wanted to remind everyone of Newhaven's rich culture and showing them the importance of the school to Newhaven's community. Using memory as a means of political power worked, so they kept the celebration going. In Cathy's opinion, Gala Day allowed Newhaveners to define their own identity, even though that identity keeps changing as they struggle to maintain their connection with the past.[19]

Jeannette Meek, one of the attendees at Gala Day, agreed with Thomson's and Miller's assessment, adding that too many people living in Newhaven today have no idea about the long history of the place they inhabit and the hardships their predecessors overcame in order to survive. Gala Day decreases that number. Meek's favorite aspect of Gala Day was simply the coming together of "the community to feel… just like one," even those who recently moved into Newhaven. People still need to feel like they belong, and Gala Day serves as one of the neighborhood's new sites of belonging. In Newhaven's village days, the need to help neighbors interact with one another would not have existed because everyone knew each other, but today's Newhaven is very different.

[19] Cathy Lighterness, interview with author, Newhaven, March 17, 2015.

Meek, who works with many of Newhaven's senior citizens throughout the week as a part of her job at Newhaven Parish Church Café, insisted that these changes were not necessarily bad, but she did lament the lack of closeness in Newhaven now as compared to Newhaven in the past. She knows about the lack of closeness because the Newhaveners who frequent her café tell her about it.[20]

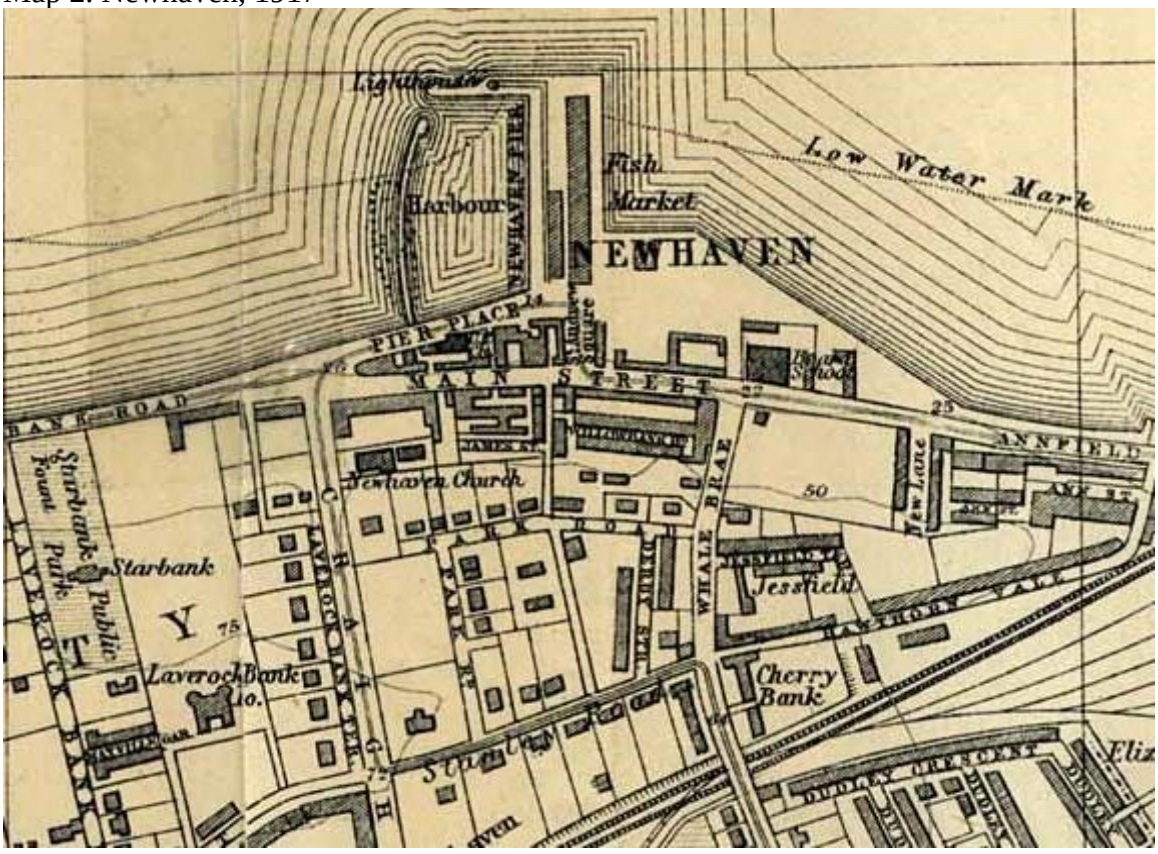
Every year, Gala Day gives today's Newhaveners a chance to respond to their new dynamic and form their own version of community, one that resembles a modern neighborhood where people live next to each other but have little social interaction with their neighbors. Gala Day strengthens the connection today's Newhaveners feel between their past and one another, growing their appreciation for Newhaven and its people. The annual event provides a venue to celebrate their identity and collectively remember their history. Finally, Gala Day proves that the famous ancient village of Newhaven, after 450 years of becoming its own unique community through staking out a living on the Firth of Forth, now exists primarily in the memories of the elderly Bow Tows who lived there and the minds of those who have learned about its history. A modern neighborhood has taken its place, just as the City of Edinburgh Council wanted.

[20] Jeannette Meek, interview with author, Newhaven, May 24, 2014.

## Appendix A: Maps of Newhaven

Map 1. Newhaven, 1900


Map 2. Newhaven, 1917



Map 3. Newhaven, 1925


Map 4. Newhaven, 2020

## Appendix B: List of Who's Who

**Lifelong Newhaveners**

Willie Arthur
Kitty Banyards
Mary Barker
Rena Barnes
George Campbell (blacksmith)
Margaret Campbell
Nessie Nisbet Carnie
Peter Carnie
Nettie Christie
Mary Clement
Mary Craig
Minnie Davidson
Margaret Dick
Marion Dryburgh
Margaret Finnie
Isa Flucker
Willie Flucker
George Hackland (fisherman)
John Hackland
David Hall
Tom Hall
Willie Hall (fisherman)
Betty Hepburn
Mary Johnston (fishwife)
Willie Johnston
Mary Kay
Cathy Linton Lighterness
Susan Lighterness Edwards
Esther Liston (fishwife)
George Liston (fisherman)
John K. Liston (fisherman)
William Liston (fisherman)
Margaret Forbes McLean
Fraser Miller
Grace Miller
Frances Milligan (fishwife)
Maggie Noble (fishwife)
Sandy Noble
Jim Park
Mina Ritchie (fishwife)
Jock Robb (fisherman)
Joseph Roberts
Mary Rutherford
Willie Rutherford
Ian Smith (fisherman)
Netta Finley Somerville
John Stephenson (fisherman)
Bettina Strang
Elsie Tierney (fishwife)
George Venters
Nellie Walls (fishwife)
Joan Williamson
Isa Wilson
Jim Wilson (fisherman)
Tam Wilson (fisherman)
William Logan Wilson (fisherman)
Alec Young

**Incomers to Newhaven**

Marina Bain
Yvonne Demaude
Frank Ferri
Christopher Garner
Margaret Garner
Maureen Macgregor
Tom McGowran
Jeannette Meek
Amanda Wilson

**Local Historians**

Christopher Garner
Tom McGowran
D.J. Johnston-Smith

**Museum of Edinburgh Staff**

Denise Brace
Helen Clark
Diana Morton
Margaret Young

**Newhaveners Who Emigrated**

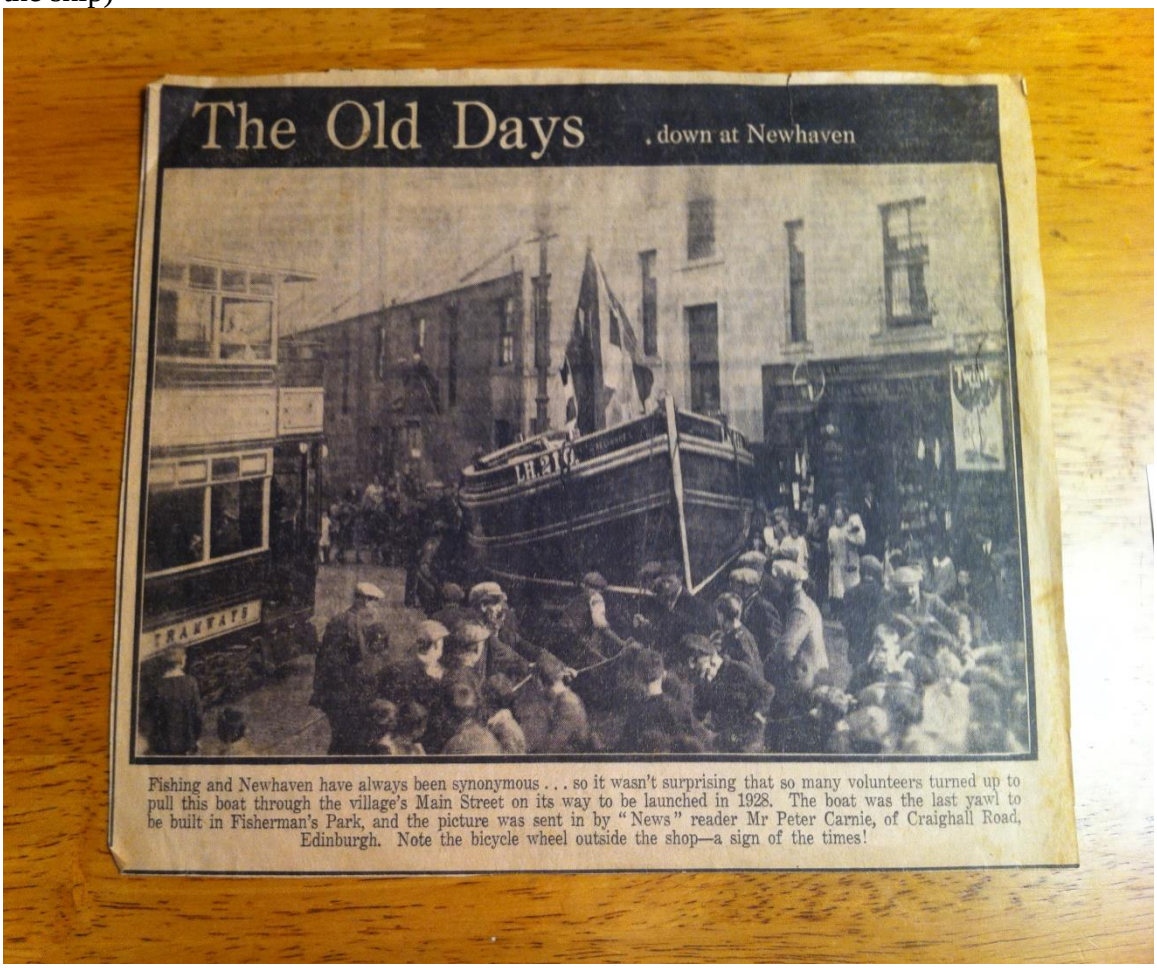
Christine Ramsay Johnston

**Others/Friends of Newhaveners**

Debbie Dickson

## Appendix C: Pictures of Newhaven

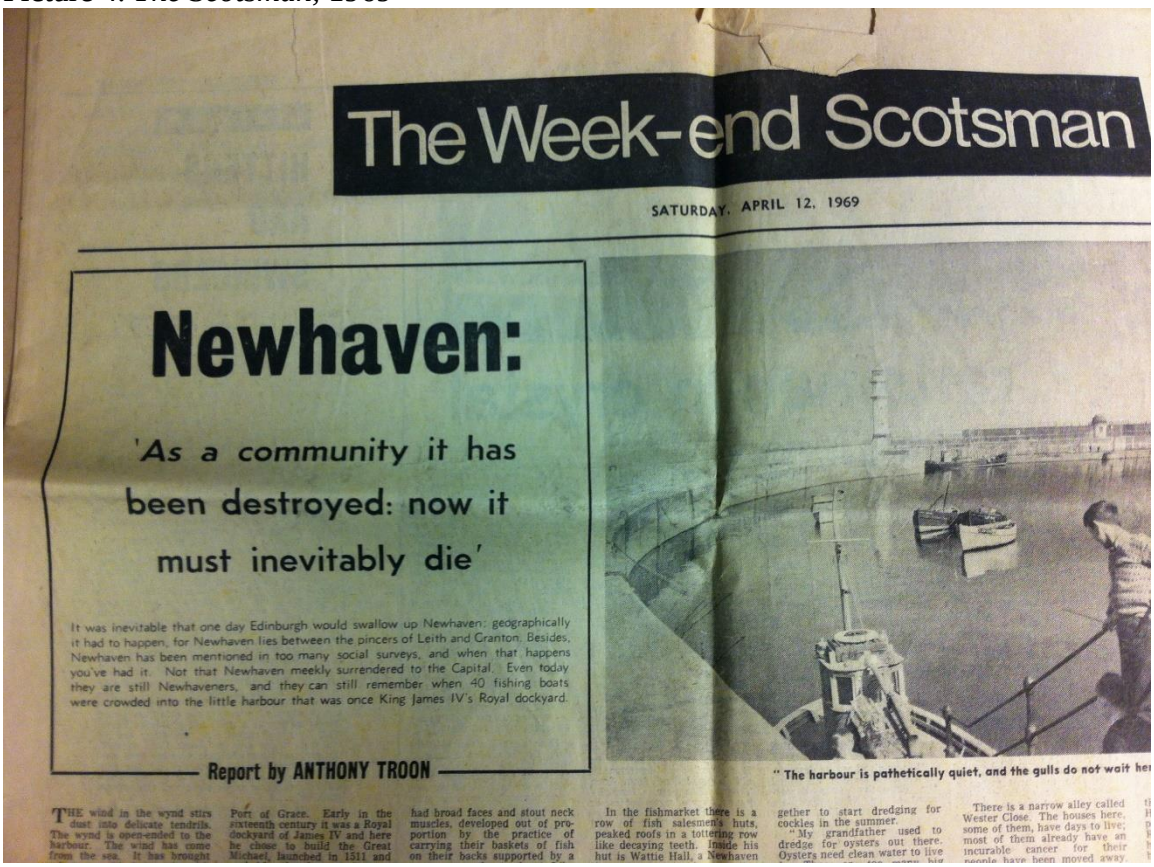
Picture 1. The *Reliance*, 1928 (George Hackland at 8-years-old is one of the boys pulling the ship)




Picture 2. Fishwives, 1900

Picture 3. New Lane, 1870s


Picture 4. *The Scotsman*, 1969



The Week-end Scotsman

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1969

# Newhaven:

## 'As a community it has been destroyed: now it must inevitably die'

It was inevitable that one day Edinburgh would swallow up Newhaven: geographically it had to happen, for Newhaven lies between the pincers of Leith and Granton. Besides, Newhaven has been mentioned in too many social surveys, and when that happens you've had it. Not that Newhaven meekly surrendered to the Capital. Even today they are still Newhaveners, and they can still remember when 40 fishing boats were crowded into the little harbour that was once King James IV's Royal dockyard.

Report by ANTHONY TROON

" The harbour is pathetically quiet, and the gulls do not wait he

THE wind in the wynd stirs dust into delicate tendrils. The wynd is open-ended to the harbour. The wind has come from the sea. It has brought

Port of Grace. Early in the sixteenth century it was a Royal dockyard of James IV and here he chose to build the Great Michael, launched in 1511 and

had broad faces and stout neck muscles, developed out of proportion by the practice of carrying their baskets of fish on their backs supported by a

In the fishmarket there is a row of fish salesmen's huts, peaked roofs in a tottering row like decaying teeth. Inside his hut is Wattie Hall, a Newhaven

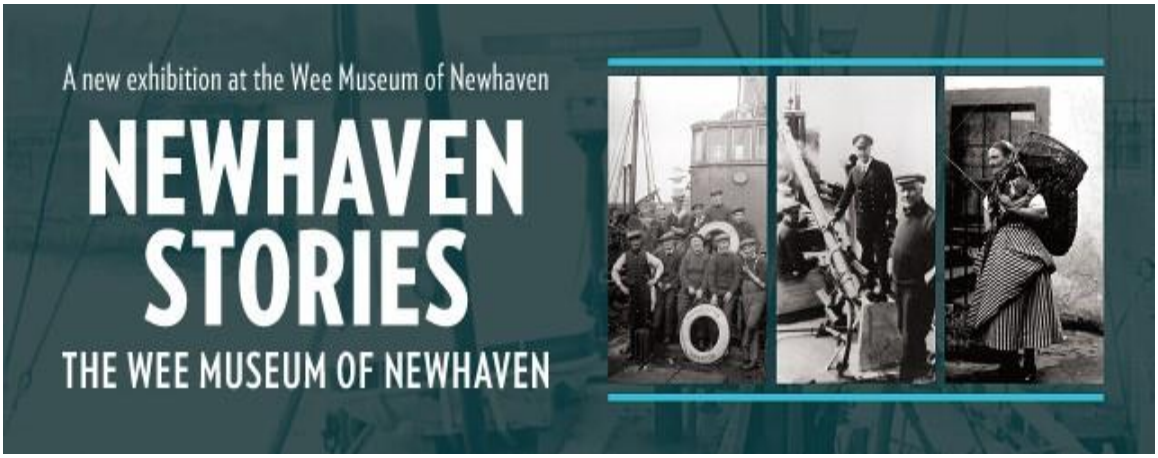
gether to start dredging for cockles in the summer.

"My grandfather used to dredge for oysters out there. Oysters need clean water to live

There is a narrow alley called Wester Close. The houses here, some of them, have days to live; most of them already have an incurable cancer for their

Picture 5. Newhaven Harbor, 1936

Picture 6. The Wee Museum



Picture 7. Gala Day 2014, Fishwives and Boys Brigade Marching in Processional

Picture 8. Main Street 2015, Looking East Toward Victoria Primary School (Northside/Southside Contrast)


Picture 9. Newhaven Harbor, 2014

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# VITA

## ASA JAMES SWAN

## EMPLOYMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief Leadership Officer (CLO)<br>Commonwealth of Kentucky | Frankfort, KY<br>Jan 2019-Dec 2019 |
| Chief of Staff & Various Interim Department Head Roles<br>Kentucky Transportation Cabinet | Frankfort, KY<br>Dec 2015-Jan 2019 |
| Campaign Manager/Deputy Campaign Manager<br>Allison Ball for State Treasurer | Campbellsville, KY<br>Jan-Nov 2015 |
| Adjunct Instructor of History/Instructor of History/Asst. Prof. of History<br>Lindsey Wilson College | Columbia, KY<br>Aug 2007-June 2015 |
| Governor's Transportation Legislative Liaison<br>Kentucky Transportation Cabinet & Public Service Commission | Frankfort, KY<br>Feb 2004-May 2007 |
| Interim Deputy Director of Coalitions<br>US Senate Republican Conference | Washington, DC<br>Sept 2003-Feb 2004 |
| Legislative Assistant<br>US Rep. Ron Lewis, Kentucky Second Congressional District | Washington, DC<br>June 2000-Dec 2001 |

## EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Western Kentucky University<br>Master of Arts, History (Magna Cum Laude) | Bowling Green, KY<br>Dec 2002 |
| Huntington College<br>Bachelor of Arts, History (Magna Cum Laude) | Huntington, IN<br>May 1999 |

## HONORS

- UK Department of History George C. Herring Scholar, Spring-Summer 2015
- Lindsey Wilson College Teacher of the Year, 2012-2013, 2013-2014
- Lindsey Wilson College Young Alumni of the Year, 2004
- Student Body President at Lindsey Wilson College (1995-96) and Huntington University (1997-98, 1998-99)
- Rhodes Scholar Nominee and Candidate, 1999